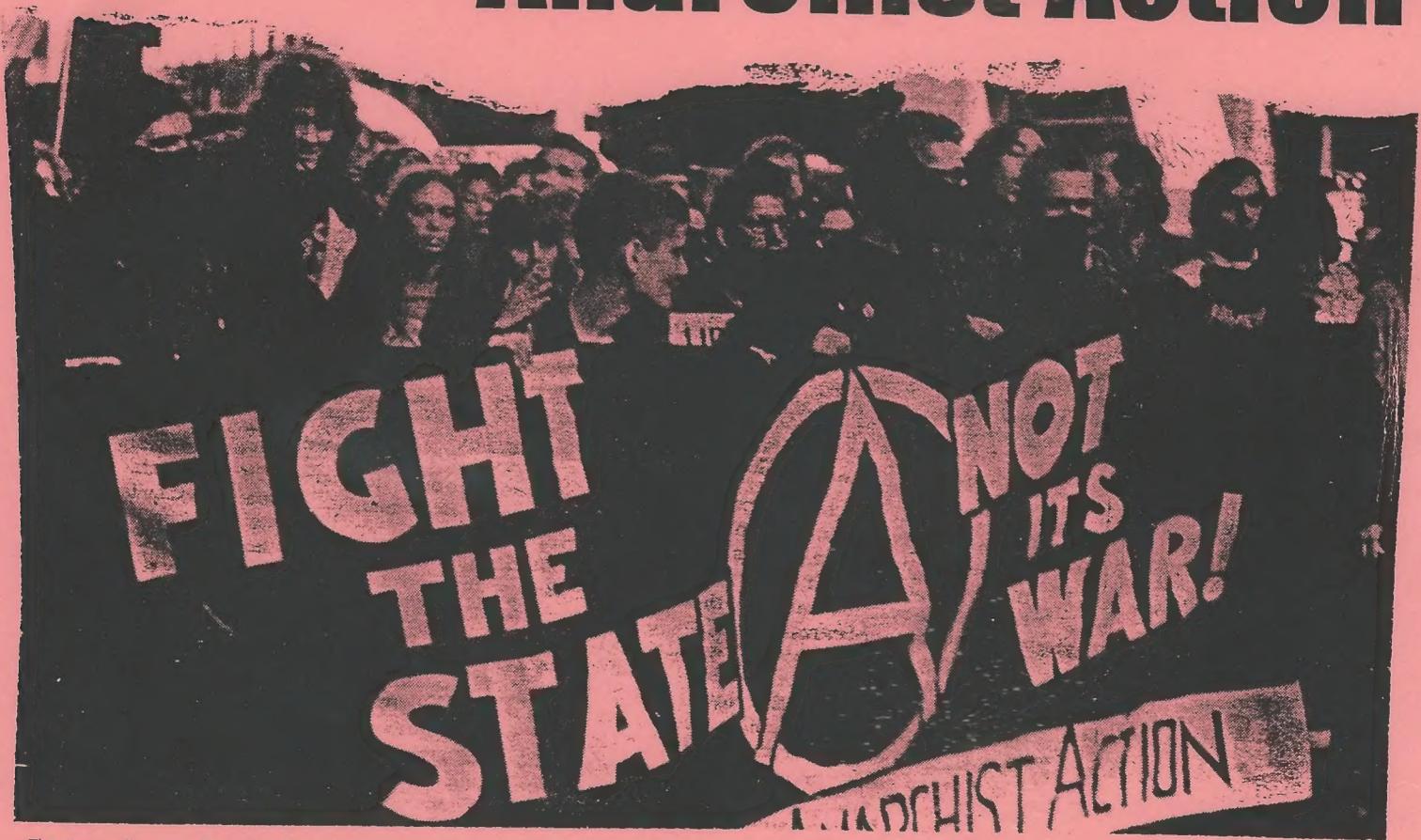


Love and Rage's Greatest Hits 6 Years of Revolutionary Anarchist Action



This is a collection of articles from the pages of *Love and Rage* between 1990 and 1996. The Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is an organization of revolutionary anarchist activists. All of these articles describe actions in which Love and Rage members actively participated. While we are committed to the development of revolutionary anarchist theory we are just as committed to putting our ideas into practice. This collection is, in effect, a documentary history of Love and Rage's participation in the various struggles that, taken together, constitute the fight for human liberation. We want to work with people who are attracted not only to what we have to say but to what we do. If you like what you see in these pages please contact us:

Love and Rage Federation Office
1929 S. 5th St.
Minneapolis, MN 55455 USA
e-mail: twob12@aol.com

radicalize earth day

BARRICADES ON BROADWAY

BY PAUL O'BANION

BARRICADES MADE OF CONSTRUCTION materials, saw horses, trash cans, and other found objects were quickly built as a line of thirty five black-clad, masked, militants linked arms, blocking traffic. The heaviest, most fun and daring, street action in the effort to "Shut Down Wall Street" began well before the majority of the cast of characters reported (and distorted) by the press arrived on the scene.

This "mobile cluster," made up of Youth Greens from around the continent, Lower East Side and out of town anarchists, the Love and Rage production group, young insurgents from *The Guardian* and elsewhere, soon doubled in size. Four street barricades were quickly built within less than an hour in the eerie morning light. One used over half-a-dozen tipped dumpsters.

The group moved swiftly, clapping hands and shaking cans filled with pennies and pebbles. A group of forty-five Greens from New Brunswick quickly joined the mobile cluster in taking over intersections. Others came running and applauding as the mobile black bloc barricaded Broadway one block North of Wall Street.

Outside the Lower East Side, this type of direct action is unusual for New York. Yet the major press ig-



Photo by David Sorcher

nored it. Most likely their reporters were still in bed, the place that organizers had recommended people who work in the Wall Street area spend their day. Instead most faithfully came to work, but not without first confronting a combination of questions, hostility, and appeals to "take an environmental holiday." The anger some expressed at those working in the area seemed misguided, as the action was called in opposition to the system, not those caught up in it.

Wall Street was closed to pedestrians and traffic. The New York Stock

Exchange functioned only with the help of at least 500 riot police. The elaborate security system resembled that used to get scabs into work.

The pervasive presence of undercover cops picking out those providing guidance or moving beyond symbolic action was intimidating, as was the fierce brutality of the police. One woman from the Youth Greens was pounced on by undercovers. A student from Vermont had his head bashed on the pavement when he came to a friend's assistance, requiring four stitches. One woman was dragged by her hair.

Initial despair caused by the overwhelming security around the Exchange and police brutality soon gave way as hundreds of protesters began to arrive, engaging in diverse and creative expressions of opposition to the trading pit of capitalism. One group dressed completely in black did roaming theatre improv in the middle of the streets as baffled undercovers looked on. Ecofeminists from Vermont circled the Exchange banging on a large metal barrel. Others dressed in costume. The protest extended over the next nine hours.

After being split up by a police charge, the mobile cluster joined a large group of protesters concentrated on blockading Exchange Place. This became the central area of contention for the next couple of hours. The mood there was festive and defiant as police repeatedly tried to clear the street, sometimes attempting to make arrests. People linked arms, often stretching from building to building across entire streets and sidewalks, preventing people from passing. Many were turned back. Struggles with police to avoid arrest and "unarrest" those caught by cops were widespread. One arrested protestor escaped through the window of a police bus. A cop commented, "That was a good one."

The diverse group that came to the Wall Street Action ranged in political orientation from revolutionary anarchist to liberal reform. When a group from Antioch College began a chant of "2,4,6,8 Smash the Market, Smash the State," for instance, they were countered by a placid group sitting on the stairs who droned "Give Peace A Chance." Later a chant of "Raise Corporate Taxes" was enthusiastically picked up. Chants of "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, Corporate Greed has Got To Go" were changed to "... Capitalism's Got To Go."

At least 1500 people participated in the action, which better resembled a Central European style protest, or North American Anarchist D.O.A. (Day Of Action), than the usual left/activist type demo. This was in part due to the lack of centralized orchestration, co-management with the police, and "peace keepers" imposing boundaries upon participants' expression. The action was a healthy alliance of more traditional pacifists and those who have grown tired of orchestrated protests, laying the basis for continued dialogue and the potential for a multi-tactical direct action movement. People came from as far away as Oregon, Ontario, and Quebec.

In the late morning a spontaneous march occurred, involving a crowd that many present estimated at 2,000 to 3,000. At noon a speakout took place on the steps of a federal building adorned with a statue of George Washington, clutching a \$ sign for the occasion.

The speakout did a good job of representing views from a wide variety of perspectives, beginning to draw connections between issues. How-

ever, it tended to be single-issue and reform oriented. With few exceptions, the revolutionary nature of the initiating groups' politics was not coherently expressed, nor was a programmatic alternative expressed.

The speakout was hastily organized, intended more as a platform for individuals and groups to give short statements and testimonies. Some of the seventeen speakers included: Leo Myrick, a representative of the striking Greyhound drivers; long-time independent black activist Jitu Weusi; Sam Anderson, who spoke about community opposition to Columbia University's plans to demolish the Audubon Ballroom to build a biotechnology facility (see May issue); Howard Hawkins of the Left Green Network who insisted on the need for direct democracy in opposition to capitalism and the state; Chris Shawn of the Agent Orange Network; Donna Reik of the Dalkon Shield Information Network; Ari Suki of ACT-UP and WHAM; Bob McGlynn, recently returned from Europe, who read a solidarity statement from anarchists from twenty-three countries who had met in Trieste, Italy; and Tatiana Bohm of the East German Independent Women's Association.

After Tatiana's talk, protestors quickly dropped a police saw horse and the assembled montage of dissatisfaction dashed down the sidewalk and into the street, the opposite way than the police had anticipated—the cops were no doubt operating from the map with the march route, which was widely circulated, but changed at a final planning meeting.

Police on scooters attempted to redirect the march, where they had

horses and more scooters all set to accompany us around in their saw horse maze. A quick decision directed the front of the march onto the sidewalk around the cops, then back into the streets.

The march stopped at Chase Manhattan Bank, which has investments in American Cyanamid (see article page 6 this issue), then continued to Broadway. At Broadway and Wall some did civil disobedience (CD). Others were arbitrarily busted. The march continued for the next hour or so. One organizer who was directing the march was jumped by four cops, then charged with felony assault. Eventually the march wound down into Battery Park, where an informal speakout concluded the day's events.

To a certain degree the action appeared eclectic, incoherent and confused, in part reflecting the fragmented state of oppositional movements in North America. Habits conditioned by too many years of lame CISPES-style protests proved hard to break, as many people wandered seemingly aimlessly, unsure what to do next.

The action had liberatory "moments" which bode well for the future of the revolutionary anarchist movement. The mobile cluster operating around Liberty Plaza exhibited a strong identity and sense of shared purpose. Enough mistakes were made; however, to check any illusions about the quick emergence of a North American Autonome movement—although after Wall Street and other actions around the continent, this potentiality feels more tangible.

Organizing as affinity groups within mobile clusters, the desire not

to go to jail, and the use of physical barricades were supported throughout organizing for the action and are



John Jay Anderson
Died April 24, 1990

now catching on with an ever wider group of activists.

As confused as things sometimes were, we did begin to sense what is possible. We got away with an incredible amount. The general feel-

ing against getting arrested was quite different than the days when the objective of going to a demonstration was to get arrested. The small number of people willing to do CD limited our ability to effectively blockade. People did stand up to police, but enough self-organization has not yet developed to allow for large-scale non-CD direct action that can be effective. People often ran as only a few police arrived. We need to learn to take better advantage of the space available to us in the street, while developing affinity group and clusters models that both minimize the police's ability to grab us and allow us to act effectively.

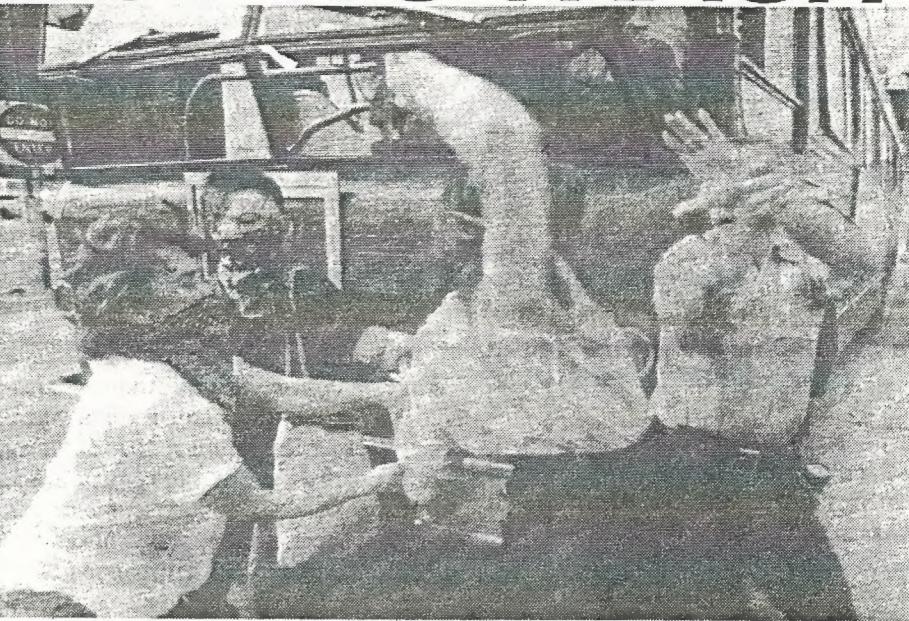
The Wall Street Action has created an opening, shifting the terms of the debate in a way favorable to anarchists oriented towards organization and the development of a fighting movement. It also represents the continuation of the alliance between the Youth Greens and anarchists involved in other projects, within the context of a broader, increasingly radical, movement. There is a large network of people out there, interested in the development of a move-

ment of the type that was exhibited April 23rd. Discussions are currently underway to initiate a continental Green direct action network.

Street actions are only one component of a multi-faceted revolutionary strategy, involving not only the development of dual-power, but also mutualism and solidarity amongst ourselves. The significance of taking action was brought home to many of us with the death of John Jay Anderson of the Antioch Greens, in an accident on the way back to Ohio. Six others suffered broken bones and cuts requiring stitches. Although he had never participated in a direct action like Wall Street before, those that were with John after his participation in the early morning action described him as pleased and enthusiastic. I dedicate this article to John's memory and my dear friends who have been struck so hard by his loss.

radicalize earth day

BURN THE SYSTEM NOT ITS TRASH



BY KATE CERRIDWEN

ON APRIL 23, FOUR HUNDRED PEOPLE CONVERGED IN downtown Minneapolis to demand that the recently built garbage incinerator be shut down. With chants of "shut it down," and "reduce, re-use, recycle, revolt!" people blockaded the entrance to the burner, and tied up rush hour traffic.

Police began arresting perceived leaders of the gathering, attacking with riot sticks and strangle holds. One group of wimmin engaging in an un-arrest had a gun pulled on them by a cop. Tense moments were smoothed out by drumming and dancing, as the entrance-way was occupied by people demanding mandatory recycling, and an end to carcinogenic processing of waste. When the gathering began moving toward the center of the business district, police maced and clubbed anyone they claimed they saw spraypainting or speaking or protecting each other from arrest. No one sustained serious injuries, but police claimed they and pedestrians were hit by rocks.

At the beginning of the march a womyn from the Greens talked with the crowd about incineration and its effects. Larry Cloud Morgan burned sage and spoke of respect for the earth, and the generations to come. Two members of the Revolutionary Anarchist Bowling League (RABL) also spoke, encouraging the crowd to take inspiration from actions that have taken place around the world in the past year. The action was also organized by Tornado Warning, a wimmin's anti-authoritarian group, who were often at the front of the action. They displayed excellent leadership when the police had picked off other members of the tactical team, and also received the brunt of the police violence.

The group in Minneapolis had received news of actions in New York, San Francisco, Toronto, and Chicago, and joined together to take Earth Day back from corporate sponsorship. A disgusting display of placation by public relations was demonstrated the day before in St. Paul, where thousands of people turned out to listen to politicians speak. The sponsors included Target, Exxon, BFI, and 3M. People there were encouraged to write their congressional leaders, and to recycle in the brand-new, city-wide distributed plastic recycling bins.

"We'll Burn Your Fucking Banks"

BY MATT BLACK

APPROXIMATELY 40 ANARCHISTS responded to a call to form an anarchist contingent to the October 20 march and rally in New York City against the war in the Persian Gulf. The contingent met a few blocks from Columbus Circle rally site, and then marched to the circle behind a banner that read "Fight The State, Not Its Wars."

While the march organizers presented speaker after speaker, more people joined the contingent, so that by the time the march started there were over 100 people marching with the black banner.

Although the march was calm, and honestly somewhat boring, the anarchist contingent and others marching nearby brought humor and life to their section of the crowd. Several times the contingent simply stopped and waited for a minute or more, then, jumping up and down and whooping, the contingent ran forward, making up the gap at full speed. Needless to say, this upset the cops and the march organizers, both of whom had apparently expected a dull day.

Chanting old favorites like "1-2-3-4, We Don't Want Your Fucking War, 5-6-7-8, Organize To Smash The State," the contingent also staged two die-ins; dropping dead, then getting up before the police moved in (though once just barely). Flags and replica draft cards were burned.

The contingent was initiated by Autonomous Anarchist Action and the call was endorsed by the Libertarian Book Club, Neither East Nor West (NY), Anarchist Youth Federation (NY), Workers Solidarity Alliance (NY), the New York Youth Greens, and the Black Cat Collective.

The contingent was a success, both in enabling different anarchist groups to work together, and in bringing a distinctly anarchist critique to the opposition to the war. As a movement which is widely considered to be marginal — if it is considered at all — an anarchist presence is essential to let the public

know who anarchists are, and what we are doing.

While this contingent was successful, it was only a beginning. We need to look to the next rally — called for New York for February — and to the eventuality of the start of the war, to organize our opposition. A black-bloc of anarchists from around the country at the February demonstration would be one way of bringing a more visible anarchist presence to the anti-war effort.

We need to make clear our opposition to this war, and we need to raise the stakes for the US by radicalizing the anti-war movement. Internal opposition makes the war harder to sustain. The October contingent also chanted "War, Just Try It, We'll Take The Streets And Riot", and "War, No Thanks, We'll Burn Your Fucking Banks." If — though more likely, when — fighting starts, we must be prepared to sabotage the war

machine.

Just as important, we need to be thinking about how the anti-war effort relates to revolution. When the fighting starts, and the "general public" begins to lose taste for American imperialism, will anarchists be ready to offer a vision of an alternative? If the war drastically affects the world economic system and destabilizes the US government, what will anarchists do?

Now is the time for anarchists to be talking about tactics and strategy — both for this and other potential sources of instability in the status quo. Now is the time for anarchists to redevelop a public presence — locally, continentally, and internationally.

Bay Area Black Monday

BY DEAN TUCKERMAN

ON OCTOBER 29, THE ANNIVERSARY of the "Black Monday" stock market crash, 350 demonstrators went on a confrontational tour of San Francisco's financial district. Planned as a sequel to last April's "day after Earth Day" actions, the demo focused primarily on the corporate sponsorship of the war in the Middle East. It was the most militant demonstration against the war in the San Francisco Bay Area so far. It also took aim at the "destruction of the planet and its people by the corporate and financial cartels."

The demonstration began in front of the Pacific Stock Exchange. Employees had come in early and cops were at each entrance to prevent the announced blockade. Therefore, after several street theater pieces, the demonstrators chose not to block the exchange doors, and instead marched around the financial district.

One street theater piece set the tone for the action. A "Blood for Oil Exchange" (like a blood bank) was set up where people gave blood and got oil in exchange. Just before we began marching, an American flag, a Chevron flag and money were burned.

The march — including people dancing, drumming, and chanting slogans like "No Blood for Oil," and

"Death to the Corporate State" — wound itself around the building and the District. When it came to Chevron's world headquarters protesters squished themselves into an archway, effectively blocking most employees who were just arriving for work. The police, who had basically left us alone until then, brutally pushed us from the inside of the building. We marched away with no arrests.

Then we marched into Market Street (San Francisco's main street) blocking rush hour traffic for miles. At this point, people from the group went over to a McDonalds, where a window was broken from the inside outward (not endangering workers or people eating there).

We continued to the Charles Schwab brokerage house where people got inside the main lobby. Phones were removed from the wall, and a stockbroker trying to defend his job as a paper (money) pusher started a fight. A pretty white cloud of smoke went off in the lobby as we marched away.

The cops were indecipherable over their bullhorns and then started moving in to surround us. They corralled a literal cross-section of the demonstrators and then announced we had to leave. We were surrounded. Others were thrown in with us. Someone did a running

jump over one of the police motorcycles penning us in, and got away, knocking over the cycle in the process. The arrestees were charged with rioting and failure to disperse. The demonstration then went back to Market Street and broke up.

The bourgeois press lied about the demo. They said a more militant group of "anarchists bent on destruction" hijacked the group from its peace-loving organizers who then left the demonstration. The truth is that the organizers (who included anarchists) stayed on the scene until the end.

This action shows that after a hesitant start the fight against the approaching war can and will be confrontational. We should make the oil companies, other capitalists and the state pay a price for its war. Many people in the Bay Area are organizing for TDO (The Day Of the beginning of actual shooting) or

TDA (The Day After) actions. Students at the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State are talking about a student strike if the shooting begins. Many people are talking about "stopping the city" actions. Some have even talked seriously about "Bringing the War Home" and disrupting Washington when the war begins. The militant anti-war movement has already begun.

Black Bloc Pesters World Bank

BY PAUL O'BANION

THE ANARCHIST CONTINGENT to the January 26 March on Washington was an important development in oppositional politics from which we should learn. The contingent voiced a militant tendency in the anti-war movement willing to take risks and raise the social costs of continuing the war. It also injected irreverent humor and spontaneity into an otherwise stupefying march. Anyone who participated knows, however, that the anarchist contingent had its share of problems.

was not very high going into the march, what occurred during the breakaway action taught us valuable lessons.

The Black Bloc

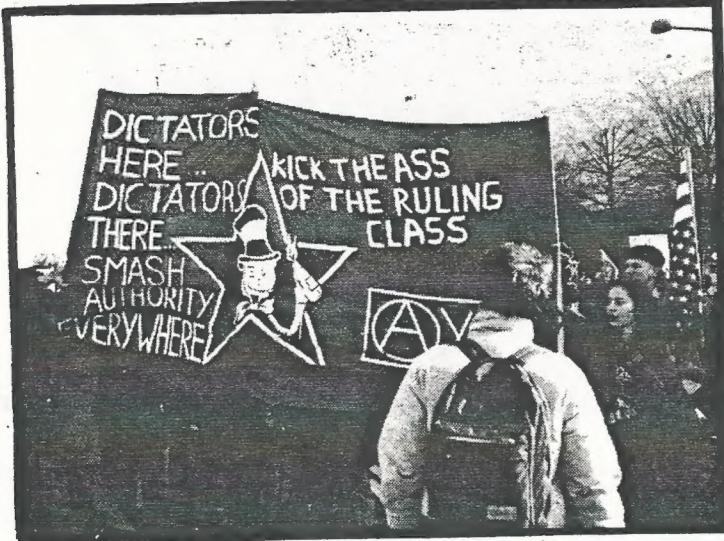
A call to form a "black bloc" accompanied the call for the anarchist contingent. Yet to call what occurred a black bloc — except in certain crucial moments — would be to reduce ourselves to a mere parody of the Central European autonome, from whom the tactic emerged. Throughout the march

ment similar to the autonome we run the risk of a simplistic appropriation of the form (black clothing, ski masks, helmets, etc.) without an understanding of the content. Although the autonomous movement exists to varying degrees throughout Central Europe, it is the German movement, mostly in Berlin, that we hear most about. The German autonome roughly translates as "those who are autonomous." Autonomy from Social Democratic and Communist Parties was part of the movement's initial identity.

The first major period for the autonome occurred in 1981 in West Berlin when up to 160 buildings were squatted. Squatted buildings and vacant lots were turned into living spaces, cafes, information centers, and gardens, constituting points of opposition to the state, capital and patriarchy. This nascent "dual power" is the basis for the autonome, not street demonstrations per se. Street actions are undertaken to protest the advanced capitalist countries' continuing plunder of poorer southern hemispheric countries, for example, but also to protect autonome "free spaces" from attacks by the state.

The autonome grew out of specific social and political conditions in West Germany, against a backdrop of state repression called "criminalization" during the mid-to-late 1970s. They have developed a form of revolutionary politics which operates between the isolated, self-defeating, extreme of the Red Army Fraction (RAF) and the limited parliamentary strategy of The Greens. (For more on the autonome, see George Katsiaficas' two part essay "May Day in West Berlin" and "Central Europe's Autonomen" from October and November 1988 Z magazine. Available from AWOL Box 7293, Mpls., MN 55407).

Although the autonome are a tremendous inspiration, we need to develop a movement appropriate to our own context, rather than simply imitating romantic images of people fighting back. We need to understand the relationship between oppositional street politics and the larger project of social revolution. Militant street demos alone will not create a free society. Equally important is education, confronting various forms of domination (e.g. sexism, homophobia, and racism), the revitalization of a



A recent D.C. acquaintance observed that the immense bureaucracy of the capitol has a deadening effect on people. The assembled anti-authoritarians were not immune to this hypnosis, as the seeming hours of waiting to march gave way to a congested, disorganized crawl through the streets. Once we were in the streets it became clear that most people had not had the type of experiences which would help them see the need for forming a bloc.

As it was, we chanted some fun chants, and had a generally good time, bringing some life to the demo. We enjoyed a dramatic and entertaining attack on the Treasury Department, knocked down a fence in front of the FBI building and had a relatively successful breakaway action against the World Bank. All this was important and satisfying. But if we had been better organized we could have done a great deal more. Although our consciousness about the tactic of the black bloc

we seemed incapable of doing the basic things necessary to marching as a bloc: walking in rows, linking arms, sticking closely together, etc. Subsequently, those who had come to the contingent with the hope that militant street awareness and a black bloc structure would foster more confrontational action did not feel confident in raising the stakes. Had we been better organized, for example, affinity groups would have felt more empowered to break off and express their rage with the confidence of returning to a secure bloc.

Marching as a bloc limits the ability of the cops to make arrests. It also sends a message to the ruling elites that a section of the movement is well organized and able to take the offensive. It is a tactic which we need to take more seriously for future demonstrations. (For more on the thinking behind the black bloc and other tactics, see the February *Love and Rage*.)

In developing a fighting move-

public sphere for the open debate of ideas, the creation of democratic structures and counter-institutions, a long-term strategy, and a vision of a free, directly democratic, ecological future.

Lessons Learned

Lack of participation in the pre-march decision-making meeting was one of the contingent's initial problems. In the future a meeting and informal socializing the night before an action should be organized and well publicized to participants. The low turnout at the meeting was partly due to poor communication about the location and plan for such a meeting.

Problems were compounded following this initial error. Many who participated were not aware that a tactical team and breakaway plan had been decided upon, while others — mostly vocal men — exhibited open hostility to the two women who were making tactical decisions. Without a formal structure in place, the most vocal usually end up "leading" everyone else. To avoid this it is important that the group empower individuals to make quick, on the spot, tactical decisions. A tactical team is accountable to the people who empower them.

Communication during a march is also very important. Runners can be used to get a sense of the group and to solicit opinions about what to do next, then relaying this information to the tactical team. In a city unfamiliar to the majority of participants, local anti-authoritarians should also provide maps and at least one local person who knows the area to the tactical team.

Conflict between the tactical team and those who held a simplistic anti-organization view and those who had other ideas for breakaway plans — not to mention those who were just plain confused and frustrated — accounts for some of the day's disorganization. In addition, the tactical team may have appeared to some as self-appointed, rather than as empowered delegates. To avoid what Jo Freeman accurately describes as "a tyranny of structurelessness," it is essential that a structure be decided democratically and be known to everyone in the group.

Affinity Groups

Working in affinity groups within a larger bloc is an additional way to engage in militant protest while minimizing chances of arrest. Like the black bloc, it is a tactic to express our anger over the continuing injustices of this society, while protecting ourselves from prosecution by the state. By working closely with a small group of people we know and trust, we can be better supported while doing actions in



the streets.

Affinity groups are more than simply a tactic for demonstrations, however. They develop the type of society we want in the future in our lives today. As the name implies, affinity groups are groups of people

who have some affinity and choose to work together. They originated with the Spanish anarchists, laying the groundwork for the 1936 revolution in the daily life of their many collectives. Affinity groups were revived for the 1971 May Day mobilization against the Vietnam war — which employed mobile tactics in an attempt to shut down the capitol — and later by feminist consciousness raising groups and the anti-nuclear power movement in the 1970s.

Affinity groups also provide a "free space" for people to work through the internalized patterns of domination we are all victims of and to learn to be genuinely anti-authoritarian. They provide the basis for moving beyond the myth of "rugged individualism" into a realm of mutuality and cooperation where we can begin to free our

selves of sexism, homophobia, and racism, among other afflictions. In them we can learn to make decisions in a directly democratic way. They provide for the well-rounded development of the individual, an attempt which characterizes much of the anarchist tradition. As Jessica Benjamin points out in *Bonds of Love*, to get beyond domination we need to strike a healthy balance between self-assertion and mutual recognition. In this sense affinity groups "pre-figure" a truly free society, getting at the roots of authoritarianism and domination. Affinity groups can act alone or preferably confederate locally, regionally, or continentally.

This short discussion of a subject which could span an article or a book in itself, is important to reflection on the anarchist contingent, as some there seemed to believe that anarchism is about individualism pure and simple — "I'll do what I want and fuck you!" This type of attitude is unfortunately widespread in the anarchist move-

ment. It is not, however, about anarchism; it is simply the perpetuation of patriarchal and authoritarian conditioning under the guise of "anarchy."

Attack On The World Bank

Many, myself included, thought the breakaway plan to attack the World Bank and International Monetary Fund was ill-conceived and self-indulgent. It seemed designed to show how tough we are. It also unnecessarily put us at risk of encountering a brutal police reaction, away from the view of the majority of the march participants.

In the future, we should attempt to work with other militant groups like Queer Nation, ACT UP, African-American groups and the Progressive Student Network in planning breakaways. One alternative plan discussed was to blockade a major bridge. An action like this offers the potential for more people to get involved. It may also do more to raise the social costs of the war through disruption than breaking windows and spray-painting.

The destruction of "private property," which is a manifestation of our domination, is an important act of resistance which threatens the ruling elite status quo. But we should be aware of the danger of reducing the process of social revolution — a process which may take generations — to keeping a scorecard of damage inflicted on capitalism and the state.

With this in mind the break-away was a relative success. Out of necessity people quickly organized themselves as a bloc. As we marched, bank windows were broken, but also those of a travel agency. At about that point someone in the contingent correctly took the bullhorn to argue for choosing more appropriate targets.

The bloc made it to the World

Bank building, where the majority hesitated. A few adventurous ones left behind broken windows, a spray-painted message to end the war and the trademark circle-A. Significantly, when the cops arrived, instead of the usual running melee featuring police swinging clubs, beating and arresting people, the bloc re-formed, calmly and defiantly taking the street to rejoin the march.

Amidst the fear of going off on our own to confront an oppressive institution responsible for so much third world plunder, we seemed to learn what some had been imploring their comrades to do all along: link arms, stay close, watch out for each other. This was an important experience which made up for all the disorganization that preceded it. Now formed as a bloc, the contingent acted as an effective force.

Unarrest!

A police motorcycle squad followed the contingent back into the march, shortly attempting to drive single file up its' right side. What followed further confirmed the wisdom of the bloc.

A motorcycle cop began to dismount to go after a comrade throwing a paint bomb, only to be knocked over along with his bike. He gave pursuit and apprehended

who he thought threw the paint bomb. The comrade was quickly unarrested by fellow protesters. Perhaps more miraculously, this individual's jacket, which contained his wallet and had fallen into the hands of the cop was also "unarrested" when a member of the bloc ran up behind the retreating cop and snatched it from

his hands and darted back into the bloc. All those involved in the scuffle quickly rejoined the bloc, which prevented the police from attempting additional arrests.

The bloc moved in on the police, who were now in the street in the middle of the march. In a dramatic move, marchers behind the police closed in on them, surrounding the badly outnumbered cops.

With no one in police custody, the contingent moved forward, breaking into an inspired but exhausted South African-style to-toi jog, with clenched fists waving. The anarchists joined the rest of the marchers gathered in a park who were listening to barely audible speeches. A meeting was held during which a bullhorn was passed around for people to assess the day's events and debate what to do next. After a variety of suggestions,

ranging from going back to the White House to confront pro-war counter-demonstrators to marching to the stage to demand the mike, the contingent dissolved into smaller groups who relaxed after what was a very mixed experience.

Approximately 200,000 people marched that day in Washington. Although the press largely ignored the story, the ruling elite got the news — a sizable minority in this country is opposed to this war and some are willing to raise the social costs of continuing to wage it. Although small in numbers and poorly organized, the anarchist contingent did exact a small price for going to war. Perhaps most importantly, we learned valuable lessons for the long fight ahead, which will require more of us as we bring about the revolution we desire so strongly.

ANARCHIST BEATS GRAND JURY

BY MATT BLACK

ON THURSDAY, MAY 28TH LOVE and Rage Network supporter and Coordinating Group member Brian Coan appeared before a Federal Grand Jury. Brian was called to testify several weeks ago, apparently concerning a threat to the life of President Bush. Brian pledged non-cooperation with the Grand Jury, and refused to talk with Secret Service agents, the Assistant US Attorney in charge of the investigation, and refused to testify before the jury.

WHAT HAPPENED

On Thursday, May 7th Brian was visited by a Secret Service agent at his college in Williamstown, Mass. The agent attempted to interview Brian, informing him that the Federal Government was conducting an investigation of him; Brian wisely refused. On Friday, May 8th two agents returned with local police and served Brian a summons to appear in Federal District Court before a Federal Grand Jury on May 28 in Springfield, MA. Although the summons didn't mention a specific charge, the Secret Service agent who delivered it said that it was related to a charge of threatening the life of the President.

During the next two weeks, Brian and his lawyer, Stanley Cohen, tried to find out what was going on, and tried to decide the best strategy. In the meantime, the Love and Rage office in NY faxed dozens of press releases, and mailed out hundreds of appeals for solidarity from other groups and individuals. All that work paid off. Brian was all over local and regional papers, and was the lead story on the local TV news. His story was picked up by the Associated Press. On Wednesday, May 27 Assistant US Attorney Kevin O'Regan's office was deluged with calls from outraged folks (thanks, you all!) who wanted to protest this harassment.

On Thursday, May 28th there were solidarity demonstrations for Brian in New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and possibly other places (let us know, you anonymous demonstrators out there).

In addition, there was a demonstration at the Federal Court House in Springfield. At its peak, there were roughly 15 of us, having traveled from as nearby as the next town over to as far as from Boston, New York, and Hamilton (Ontario). We held a banner that read "Grand Jury: Hands Off Brian Coan" and passed out over 400 leaflets during a period of 3 hours. All the while men in

suits with binoculars looked down on us from the Federal building and wouldn't wave back when we all waved. It was a tense 3 hours while we waited to find out whether Brian was in chains and on the way to prison for contempt, or whether he would remain free.

Well, he's still free. Apparently, the Secret Service and the US Attorney only had a piddly-shit piece of "evidence"; as I understand it, it was a message from a computer network that said something like "Bush: that guy needs a bullet." As Brian's lawyer said, "Threatening the life of the President? Oh, please." The SS and the US Attny tried to get Brian to talk to them before going into the jury, making an offer to drop the investigation if he would 'fess up that he had done it and tell them it was only a joke. Of course, Brian refuses to collaborate with the Secret Service and told them, politely, to stuff it.

He went in to the jury and refused to answer any of their questions. He did give them fingerprints, photographs, and a handwriting sample—all of which they had already, and refusing to give them would have sent him straight to jail. This was a difficult tactical decision, which I'll talk about later.

So, the feds decided not to do anything. The SS will snoop around Brian's home town—winning political points for our side as they stamp all over everyone's flower beds, toes, and sensibilities—and when they don't find anything (because there isn't anything there), they'll drop the investigation. (An important note—all the calls and letters that flooded O'Regan's office really unnerved them and definitely helped to create the conditions that have kept Brian free. Yay!!!)

THE EVILS OF GRAND JURIES

Things were not always this rosy. This event had and has potentially serious consequences for Brian, the Love and Rage Network, and the anarchist movement in general. Grand Juries are scary things. Under Grand Jury rules, you can only have limited legal representation during the inquest, and you can be compelled to answer nearly any question, on any subject, or face imprisonment on contempt charges. You can be granted immunity from incriminating yourself (your rights under the Fifth Amendment), but once granted this limited immunity, you have no legal right to refuse to answer questions. The questions you are asked do not have to be directly related to the investigation at hand, so

they could ask "Are you in The Fred Flintstone Armed Faction? What are the real names of the other members of The Barney Rubble Boom-Boom Collective?" and so on. In addition, your lawyer, observers, and the press are barred from the courtroom.

Because of the broad powers of Grand Jury inquests, they have often been used against political activists. People from other movements, such as the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Black liberation movement, and groups including the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee have faced similar situations. Some have spent time in jail for refusing to collaborate, but some like Brian have won—they didn't testify and they didn't do any time.

Because of the ugly history of the use of Grand Jury proceedings against political activists, Brian pledged non-collaboration with the inquiry. He felt, and many people including me agree, that this is the only politically acceptable position. However, there are different levels of non-collaboration. Total non-collaboration involves refusing to give them anything—refusing to recognize the Grand Jury at all—this almost surely lands you in prison. While this is a principled position, for tactical and strategic reasons, Brian chose to take another course. Brian felt that since the feds already had this information on him, and refusing to give it would have resulted in him going to prison for up to 18 months and draining the resources of a small movement, this was an appropriate tactical decision. These aren't perfectly clear cut issues. But the precedent that Brian has set is clear: don't go to jail over stuff they already have, but don't give them anything at all that they don't. This is a brave and principled decision and for one I'm really impressed with Brian's dedication, discipline, and willingness to go to prison to protect his comrades. Thanks Brian.

Grand Juries are shrouded in secrecy. Although we have no real way of knowing whether this is part of a larger investigation, whether other people will be subpoenaed, or whether this will cause us more wide-spread trouble, all the clues point to this being an isolated incident of Secret Service over-zealousness. But don't take this happy turn of events lightly. This might have been the beginning of large scale legal harassment of the Love and Rage Network, or of the journal *Arm The Spirit*, which Brian also works with, or of the anarchist movement in general. It's crucial that we know how to resist this kind of repression. For more information, call the Movement Support Network of the Center for Constitutional Rights at (212) 614 6438.

If you can contribute money to pay for Brian's defense costs (\$800) please send contributions made out to "Love and Rage" and earmarked for Brian to Love and Rage, POB 3, NYC 10012.★

BY MS. TOMMY LAWLESS

ABLOC OF OVER A HUNDRED and fifty masked anarchists from all over the West Coast joined the American Indian Movement (AIM), the broad coalition 500 Years of Resistance, and 5,000 others in totally disrupting the State-sponsored Columbus events in San Francisco Sunday, October 11.

The anarchist bloc, as a supporting presence, joined thousands of activists in occupying Aquatic Park and preventing the scheduled "Reenactment of the Landing of Columbus," a ridiculous ceremony done every year for the last 149 years in San Francisco. (An actor dressed as Columbus was supposed to row ashore and plant the flag and the cross and say some stupid imperialistic bullshit.) Year 150 just didn't happen. The reenactment was stopped by a call from AIM and by the participation of the Bay Area Peace Navy (who ruled the bay with their ships that day), Roots Against War (RAW), Women Against Imperialism, Pledge of Resistance, Greenpeace, The Black Bloc and many others. As pre-planned, the bloc stood ready to tactically support AIM's effort to take the beach front with their sacred drum, which they accomplished easily without help.

After the four hour plus occupation of Aquatic Park, a Resistance March began. (This march was organized by All Peoples Congress working with AIM). As planned beforehand, hundreds of young people of color (with RAW) led the Black Bloc in the breakaway from the march to the Imperialist Parade happening five blocks away.

This fucking scary-looking bunch took the streets with gusto! Moving cars were walked over; windows were broken. Imagine the spectacle of furious youth of color and the bloc-looking-like-a-battalion-of-Ninjas whooping out war cries, bellowing chants, waving our black and African flags and banners: ("Fuck Columbus," "We Won't Celebrate Genocide," "US Out of North America," "Free Andres Villaverde," to name a few), taking the tops of steep hills and losing fat cops on foot. A huge three-headed monster puppet of Uncle Sam/Columbus/The Pope joined the breakaway to keep the spirit up.

Black Bloc Raises Hell

negative. The bloc retreated halfway up the street. As several molotovs were thrown seconds later, panic ensued (fear of being shot at for one thing), and the bloc broke up. Half the bloc went one way, half another, and immediate attempts at regrouping and communicating in any sort of coherent way were unsuccessful.

Tactically, the bloc breaking up had both positive and negative repercussions. De facto splinter strike teams set out to successfully raise hell on many different areas of the parade at once, which spread the already stretched police forces even thinner. Several successful un-arrests occurred. This was a good thing. But many affinity groups were broken up, some stragglers left behind, and con-

sequently some arrests and beatings occurred. This was a bad thing. Very bad. (Some affinity group members had been separated from each other earlier while the climbing of zillions of stairs up a hill forced the bloc into smaller rows.)

The experience of people who participated in the RAW-Black Bloc breakaway varied greatly.

Some were disappointed that they



didn't make it onto the parade, didn't get to see enough action, had to disperse early on. The tactic of layering civilian clothes under black worked very well



(even though it was boiling hot). Many a dramatic escape was made down alleys, through back yards, and over fences. Some escapes were aided by community people, some hindered. One anarchist reported darting into a bar only to find the doors slammed and locked behind him. He was a little nervous to find himself in the midst of a non-English speaking Vietnamese community, but was delighted when they all started yelling "Revolution!!" and let him out a few minutes later.

A number of people who spontaneously joined the breakaway were unprepared for the

level of militancy that ensued, and were quite pissed off at finding themselves at that level of risk.

Almost all of the people who made it onto the parade route encountered violence from the pro-Columbus specta-

tors. One anarchist needed quite a few stitches under his eye after being punched in the face. Some were hit in the head with bottles. Some wimmin were sexually harassed. One black-bloker was seen cuffed, thrown to the ground, and whaled-on Rodney King-style by a cop. A courageous RAW member, known for rushing in where anglos fear to tread, was caught by a mob of angry spectators and literally tossed back over the barricades to the police. Some participants were very angry (with good reason) at being abandoned by the rest of the bloc.

At a regrouping site a few hours later, many participants felt victorious, greeting each other with hugs, high fives, and whoops of joy. Then attention was turned toward trying to find missing friends.

Forty arrests were reported for the whole day, some from other groups. Some people were released without being charged, some were cited out on misdemeanors. Two anarchists and two RAW members were charged with felonies and spent time in jail. One RAW member was bailed out Sunday night. The other one is stuck serving time from a previous warrant. One anarchist was bailed out after two days and his charges were lowered to misdemeanors. An anarchist squatter punk, James Pepper, has been set up by the District Attorney to be the fall guy for the entire action. He was allegedly nabbed with a bag of molotov cocktails and is being charged with eight felonies and two misdemeanors. His bail has been set at \$250,000, and he is being held in the psych ward. His arraignment is still pending as of this writing. The National Lawyers Guild is not being very cooperative because they don't think Black Blocs "are a very good idea." This entire situation is atrocious! This is the worst result of the action. Hopefully strong community support will prevent James from becoming our next political prisoner.

Some AIM organizers said they appreciated the anarchist presence, appreciated the fact that the Black Bloc saved the militant action for outside the official demo (as they had requested), and appreciated that the parade was disrupted.

Of those who joined the bloc: Some were people of color. Maybe 30% were wimmin. (Let's see 60% next time and a lot more people of color!). About half of the bloc were locals, half out-of-towners. Participants came from Victoria, BC; Vancouver, BC; Seattle, WA; Portland, OR; Eugene, OR; Sacramento, CA; Santa Cruz, CA; LA, CA; Long Beach, CA; San Diego, CA; Whittier, CA; and even Dayton, OH; Minneapolis, MN; Australia; and more. Hopefully the unity for this action will lead to greater communicating and organizing on the West Coast in the near future. After all, anarchists have just pulled off the first large Black Bloc on the West Coast ever, quite successfully too, and that's no small bananas!

@ For Effort

MEMBERS OF NY BASED AUTONOMOUS ANARCHIST ACTION HELPED run Pennsylvania Governor Robert Casey out of NYC. He was going to speak on whether a "Liberal can be Pro Life." Not only is he anti-choice but he's pro death penalty, with political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal among others currently sitting on Pennsylvania's death row.

What good is free speech when wimmin are enslaved by forced pregnancies in the nation with the highest rate of domestic violence, and people of color face the highest imprisonment, death row and murder rates of any nation in the world? WHAM, WAC, QISP, December 12, and Black Panther Party representatives were among the many groups protesting this bigot.

The day before, AAA carried out a demo at five locations of conspicuous consumption, all with notorious histories concerning real estate exploitation. The Helmsley Building, Rockefeller Center, Trump Tower, Gracie Mansion (home of Mayor Dinkins) and Lincoln Center were all served with eviction notices and guerilla theater carried out with military precision.

At Trump Tower, participants dispersed into the crowd moments before two vans of undercover cops arrived on the scene. Two "unarrests" were performed at Lincoln Center, ending an exciting day with no arrests and no one injured. The demo was carried out to protest the over 1000 families being evicted from HPD housing. No justice, no peace.

Columbus Day

The majority of anarchist collectives from the Mexican capital gathered in two meetings (September 20 and October 6) and decided to organize an anarchist contingent in protest of Columbus Day. We decided to participate in an all night vigil in front of the National Palace in the Zócalo (public square) on the night of October 11. And we decided to hold a protest march from the Palace to the Columbus monument, on the Paseo de la Reforma, on the morning of the 12th. These actions were part of the coordinated activities of the Love and Rage Network. And so on the 11th at 9 pm we began to gather in front of the National Palace. The collectives participating were: Colectivo Brigada Subversiva, Colectivo Cambio Radical, Grupo de Apoyo Amor y Rabia, Colectivo Síntoma, Colectivo Ideología, Expresión y Acción, Colectivo Acción Libertaria, Colectivo Destrucción de Ideologías, and KUT. At midnight we pitched a tent that gave us shelter throughout the night. The palace was surrounded by two reactionary groups, the Escuela Filosófica de la Nueva Mexicanidad (The Philosophy School of the New Mexican) and a group of "concheros" (dancers) contracted by the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party, the party/dictatorship in

Despite a heavy rain we remained here until 9 am, when we began the march to the monument of the Genovese murderer. The flyer we produced calling for a Black Block was more effective than we had anticipated, with many showing up at the last minute. More than 70 people participated, including some foreigners—a woman from Spain, another woman from Germany, and a man from Food Not Bombs! in San Francisco.

The crowd seemed ready for anything, and we were surprised to see our

desires materialize. On leaving the Zócalo we took the streets.

The police (and the grenadiers) didn't know what to do. They talked among themselves and then asked us unexpectedly: Where are you going? What party are you from? What march are you part of?

Our responses were chants: Salinas and Columbus to the firing squad! We're gonna resist, not celebrate! Death to the State, Long Live Anarchy! We're Indians and Anarchists and we don't celebrate the quincentenary! Death to the church, down with the celebration! I'll shit on the celebration! Only fascists celebrate genocide!

We took the Paseo de La Reforma after blocking traffic leading onto it. We jumped on the monument to the imperialist bully, painting the sculpture in red and throwing whatever we could at it to try and destroy it. We put up banners and surrounded the monument, repeating our chants.

The Mexico City, national, and foreign press mobilized to cover what was the first demonstration against the celebration, while the police (and the invariable grenadiers) decided to keep watch around us. After giving

homage to the "great admiral" headed back to the Zócalo, handing out flyers to all the passersby and closing all the luxury cars in our path with counter-quincentenary stickers. Once back in the square we interrupted with shouts the celebrations and rituals of the Escuela de la Nueva Mexicanidad

The yellow and bourgeois press, while they accused us of being "vandals," "marginalized elements," and "gang members," were obligated to report on



"a black block that marched to shouts of
A, A, Anarchy!"

Information on this page from —
Grupo de Apoyo Amor y Rabia, México

More Actions

After the march of the anarchist Black Block on October 12th against the Quincentenary, various anarchist collectives from the region agreed to organize two demonstrations in coordination with the Love and Rage Network.

The first to occur was on the 23rd of October at 3 pm in front of the yankee embassy, calling for the release of American political prisoner, Kenny Tolía, and for the repeal of Mumia Abu-Jamal's death sentence and his release. About 30 people participated. For over 4 hours, protesters yelled anti-state and anti-imperialist slogans and called for the release of the imprisoned comrades. They waved banners and placards at motorists and passersby on the Paseo de la Reforma, during rush hour on Friday, while others passed out leaflets and gathered signatures.

Then on October 30, we demonstrated for the release on Peruvian anarchist prisoner Andres Villaverde. The collectives Cambio Radical, Fuerza Positiva, Brigada Subversiva, Ideología, Expresión y Acción, Zytoma, and the Love and Rage/Mexico Supporting Group organized a picket outside the Peruvian embassy, calling for an immediate review of the case of Andrés Villaverde and his release based on the lack of evidence against him.

With banners and placards, demonstrators blocked the street, by sitting on the pavement, while others passed out flyers and collected signatures. After three hours of civil disobedience, we abandoned our position to deliver petitions to the embassy.

To close out the month of solidarity and action, on November 1st some anarchists carried out a direct action against McDermers (McDonald's) in the Aragón Central Commercial Plaza in the wee hours of the night. Bricks and other objects were used to break the windows of the imperialist restaurant, and anarchist, anti-imperialist, and animal liberation graffiti was left all over the commercial center. ★

Cops Fire at Mexico City May Day Demo

BY THE MEXICO PRODUCTION GROUP

RESPONDING TO A CALL BY THE Love and Rage Network, on May 1st an anarchist contingent joined the march of the Movimiento Proletario Independiente (Independent Proletarian Movement—MPI) in Mexico City. The march began at the Niños Heroes (Child Heroes) monument in Chapultepec shortly after the scheduled time.

The anarchist contingent marched at the end of all of the contingents, with our own banner, flags and slogans. The planned route of the march went along Paseo de la Reforma to Juárez Ave. and from there to

Madero street to end up in front of the Palacio Nacional (National Palace), but the route was changed when we received the notice that the police were on the Glorieta Cristóbal Colón planning to stop the march. In order to avoid confrontation, the marchers decided to change course at Niza street, passing straight through the Pink Zone (the most Yuppie, commercialized part of the city), terrifying more than one Bourgeois and several tourists out shopping in the expensive stores of the area. We continued on Chapultepec avenue and shortly we changed direction towards Fray Servando avenue; once again avoiding a

confrontation, since the forces of repression were trying to block our path.

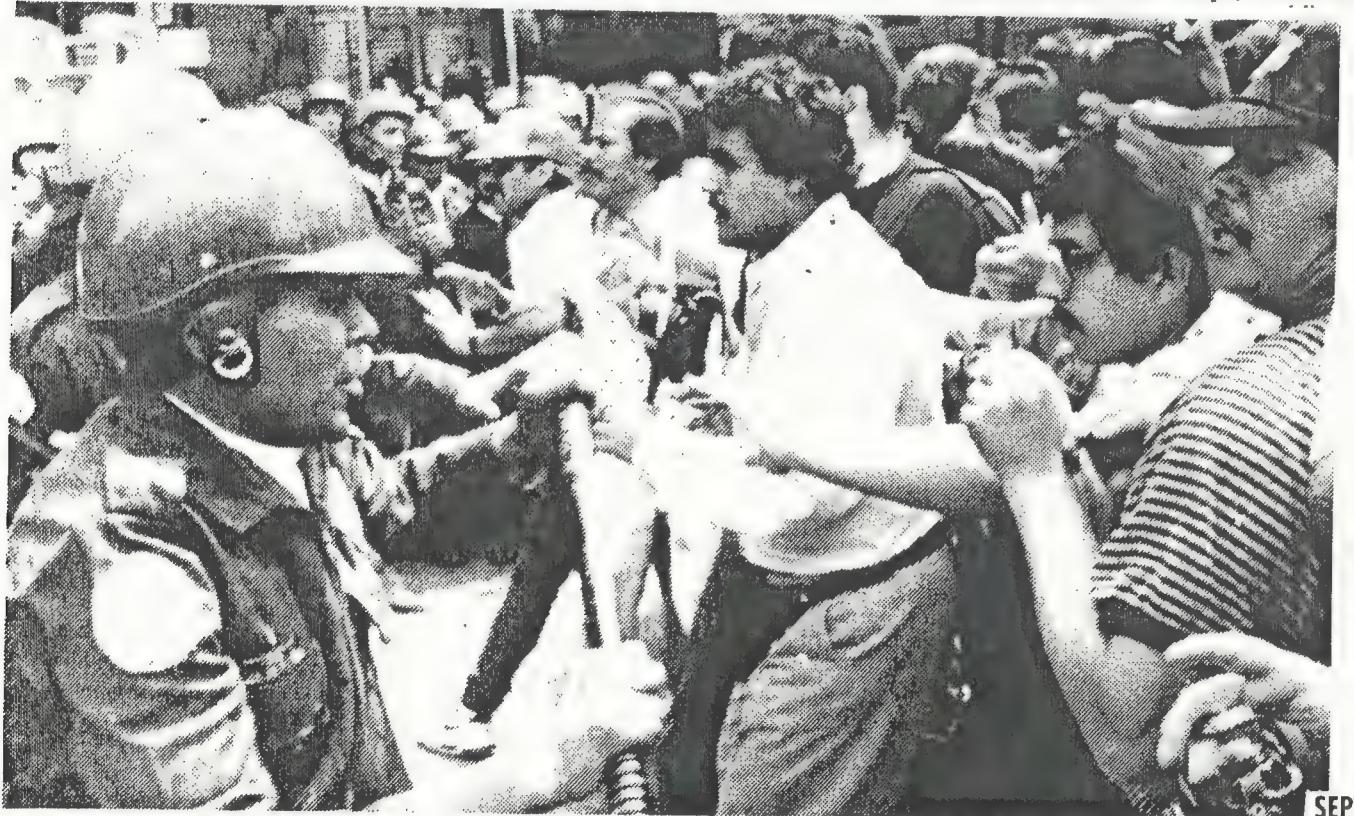
The march continued forward energetically, as all of the participants were consciously avoiding provocations. Our contingent chanted: "Primero de mayo, día de trabajo, los gobernantes vayan al carajo" ("First of May, day of work, those who govern can go to hell") and "Ni Dios, ni Estado, ni Patrón, no mantenemos a ningún cabrón" ("Neither God, nor State, nor Boss, we won't put up with any assholes.") Suddenly, at López street, just before Lazaro Cárdenas thruway we were met with a barrier of blue helmets of about 300 troops, shields and

nightsticks in hand, and a second line of more than 100 uniformed beasts riding on beautiful horses. They blocked the path of the demonstration in an open and shameless provocation. The police formed a ring, making it impossible to continue on alternate streets, blocking the exits with judicial soldiers and anti-riot cops with attack dogs [There are many different police forces in Mexico City, including judicial, special forces, municipal, and several others.]

Since our contingent was marching at the end, about four or five blocks from the front it was difficult to find out what was happening there.

Moments later, we knew that the head of the demonstration was having difficulties. From the cars with loudspeakers which accompanied several different contingents we began to hear messages and chants: "Let us through!", "We are workers and not aggressors!". Minutes later the beasts charged at the crowd, attacking indiscriminately with nightsticks and rocks despite the presence of children and older people. The comrades in Sindicato Ruta 100 (the Route 100 Union), along with other militants in MPI, sent the trucks up front. The trucks faced attacks with bullets and rocks and the attempt cost us some of our forces. The confrontation between the demonstrators and the pigs changed, in a few seconds, into a pitched battle that lasted over 20 minutes.

Twenty-one demonstrators were injured by the state forces. Those that had the luck of finding a rock, a stick or a pipe were able to fuck up the closest aggressors. Twenty-four cops were injured by demonstrators defending themselves. After some cops were shot, with others receiving severe fractures and lesions, the cops fired tear-gas



SEP1



cannisters into the crowd. The suffocation, the pain in the throat, the insufferable burning in the eyes and constant tears forced us to withdraw quickly. We left behind us our trucks, riddled with bullets, their windows broken from rocks thrown by the cops.

Finally we entered the Zócalo (the central historical plaza in Mexico City which

denounced the presence of some of these authoritarian dinosaurs (as much enemies of the oppressed as are the State and Capital) within a movement with such a dignified, valiant and revolutionary foundation. The demonstrators applauded our call for revolutionary self-determination and direct action.★

Mexican March Against Imperialism

BY THE AMOR Y RABIA PRODUCTION GROUP

ON SEPT 13 IN MEXICO CITY, OVER 30 independent organizations from the most diverse sectors of the working class of the countryside and city participated in a large anti-imperialist march. Present were: the democratic and independent Teachers' Union (CNTE Sec. 9); campesinos of the Emiliano Zapata Democratic Front of Eastern México, of the Emiliano Zapata Campesino Organization, and others; workers on strike at the Euskadi tire factory; workers struggling in the Democratic Committee at Ford; students in the Coordinating Council of University Students; defenders of human rights; popular organizations; urban squatters of the F.V. Popular Front; social organizations such as the General Assembly of Workers; and us, the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation.

This broad, anti-imperialist assembly was the result of a process of unity-in-action that we had been developing since the militant May Day march this year [see *Love and Rage* vol. 4, no. 4]. That coordination of workers, campesinos and others showed us the possibility of the anti-imperialist march and other organizing efforts, such as the Oct 2 march (in memory of students massacred by the army in the Tlatelolco Plaza that day in 1968) and the march for Native Rights on Oct 12 (Indigenous Peoples' Day).

At 4 p.m. we left from the Monument to the Niños-Héroes in Chapultepec and marched towards the National Palace in

faces the cathedral and the President's mansion], where we had a rally to conclude the march in front of the national palace. The speeches of the directors, leaders, secretaries general, and other hierarchical position-holders of each of the participating organization flooded the center of the capital with "revolutionary demagoguery". For our part, Ana Laura and Miguel Lora (who had signed up in order to speak at the rally) tried to speak to the demonstrators. We found—to our surprise—that within this "independent" gathering were the same Stalinists as usual. We noted and

denounced the presence of some of these authoritarian dinosaurs (as much enemies of the oppressed as are the State and Capital) within a movement with such a dignified, valiant and revolutionary foundation. The demonstrators applauded our call for revolutionary self-determination and direct action.★

the Zócalo, with the contingents who made up the Coordinating Group.

Along the route, we had several stops and rallies: in front of the Yankee embassy, and at other places representing major conflicts, such as the Mexican Institute for Social Security, the Secretariat of Governance, and so on.

The event had two objectives: first, the commemoration of the resistance in 1847 that the Mexican people put forth against the Yankee government's occupation (during the Mexican-American War, 1846-1848); second, to protest the current form of intervention and imperialist domination: by means of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the imposition of neo-liberalism, and the preparation of the conditions necessary to put the North American Free Trade Agreement into practice. Moreover, we completely reject North American intervention in Central America, South America and the Caribbean, demanding the withdrawal of military bases across the continent, the immediate withdrawal from Puerto Rico, Panamá, Colombia, etc., and an end to the "world police" role that the US has been playing within the UN with respect to the people of Libya, Iraq, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia.

On the same day, the 13th, the Third Jornada for the Freedom of All Social and Political Prisoners began, as did a hunger strike by prisoners in Mexico City and most of the states of the republic [see p. 1]. Our demands with respect to this included a

UPS Struggle

BY KIERAN FRAZIER AND SCOTT L.

NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN United Parcel Service and the International Brotherhood [sic] of Teamsters continues as this issue goes to press.

The contract was scheduled to expire on Aug 1 but has since been extended indefinitely. Either side must give a five workday notice to cut-off negotiations.

But the real battle between workers and capital are waged not in negotiations but on the hub floors, where tensions are definitely on the increase. UPS management has upped the general level of harassment of the workforce by increasing "auditing" of employees' "work-methods," and more strictly enforcing work rules. Letters have been sent to all workers from UPS regional directors with the not-so-subtle threat that there will be lay-offs if the negotiations drag on and package volume drops. Militants have been fired for distributing Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) literature on the clock and for wearing anti-UPS t-shirts that contain profanity.

UPS workers aren't taking all of this lying down. In Miami dozens of Teamsters, fists in the air, protested the firing of a fellow worker and demanded a fair contract. In Minneapolis management backed down after interfering with the distribution of literature. Contract updates produced by the International Union, TDU and autonomous local newsletters, such as *Part-timers With An Attitude* from Northern California, are being distributed to workers in practically every UPS hub, often without the help or even against the will of the anti-reform local Teamster officials.

A t-shirt craze has caught on. Black TDUers in Kansas City have produced a shirt that proclaims, "They can't run the tightest ship without the galley-slaves" [see graphic *Love and Rage* June/July] and sold hundreds. Another popular shirt from a Milwaukee local has a fist holding a lightning bolt, with the slogan, "I don't want to strike but I will!"

If there is a strike at UPS it would be one of the largest and most significant strikes in recent years. Anarchists should consider assisting local strike committees, doing benefit gigs, and being present at picket lines, ready for action.

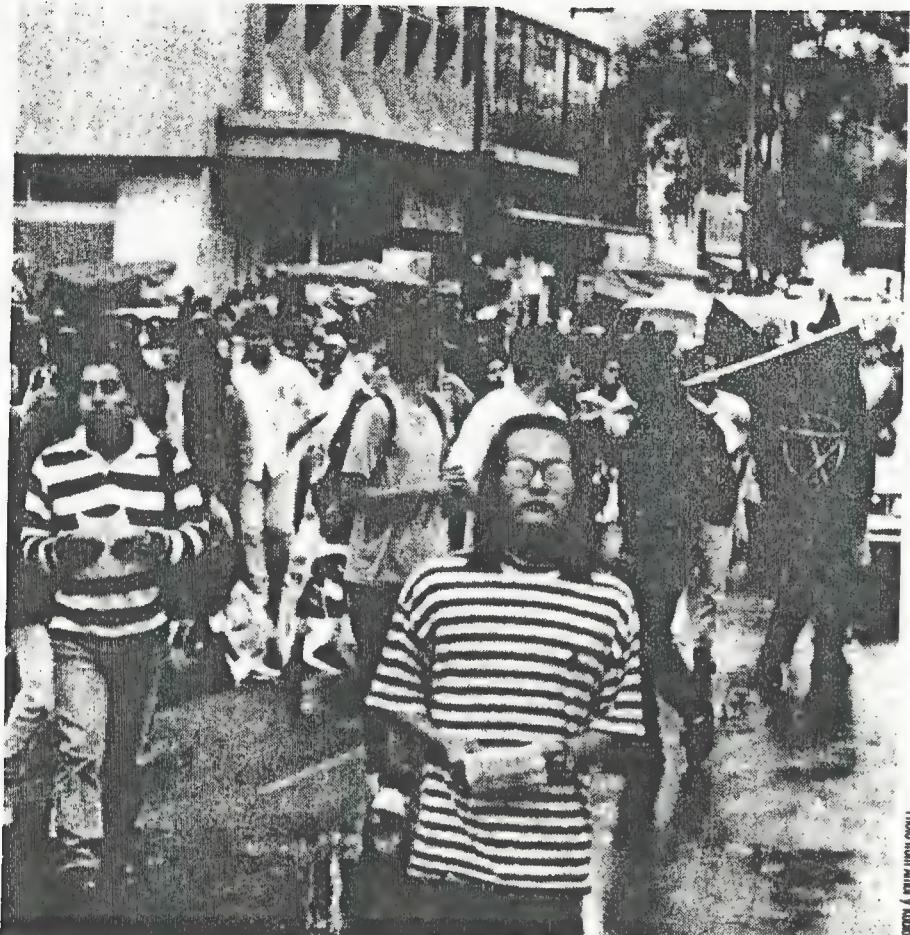


Photo from *Avante* y *Rebelde*

response to the hunger-strikers and the freedom of all indigenous, political and social prisoners.

The coordination of the march as well as the issuing of demands was hard work. Reaching decisions by consensus was tedious since within the hearts of many of the organizations and unions are many members of the genus *Comunistasaurus Marxano-Leninoidus* who refuse to accept their condition as "fauna in extinction." This archaic species still specializes in blocking the development of a revolutionary, anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical and self-determined left movement. This is only

logical, because what would the "revolutionary vanguard," "the leaders" and their "proletarian party" do on the day the people question the need for leaders, bureaucrats and parasites of this type? What would they do if the people organized ourselves for ourselves? Since all of their dreams of power and their hopes of new dictatorships are vanishing, we are now recognizing the logic of their attitudes. Now we see something like the best of creole surrealism in the "Marxist Nationalists" as they rise to the height of inconsequence when they demonstrate against NAFTA. Haven't they read Marx? We did not under-

stand the presence of the fanatics of the Caribbean Ayatollah signing on to an anti-NAFTA list; apparently the *Castrosauruses* no longer receive their budget from Havana, and therefore they ignore the opinion of the official organ of the the Partido Comunista Cubana (Cuban Communist Party), which first celebrated the economic policy of the Mexican State and then went so far as to rave about México being a "pioneer" in free-market politics. The PCC assures us that the Yankee legislature will soon approve the implementation of NAFTA. But, in the end, what can we hope for from these hypocritical forces that are

anti-Salinaists at home but in the international context they are peas in a pod with President Salinas? Could that be the reason that they did not comment when Castro supported Salinas's assumption of power despite clear voter fraud?

At the very least, for the moment, we managed to consense with these authoritarian fossils on the anti-imperialist character of the march, the list of demands, and the multi-sectoral character of the struggle: the construction of a new society of worker, popular and campesino unity. It is for that that we say "for the moment," because we know that their conception of a "new society" is nothing new, and that they will be quiet until the moment that they make a play for power, trying to convert themselves into the new exploiting class, parasitic and authoritarian, that rules all of our lives. For that reason it seemed strange to us to work with these groups, in particular one group of students from the interior of the country who said "Opportunists to one side; Ahead Marxist-Leninists!" (?)★

Minnesota Not Nice to Operation Rescue

By LIZA

OPERATION RESCUE (OR) ANNOUNCED last winter that Minneapolis would be the site for their "Impact Training" bootcamp during the upcoming summer and also one of seven cities targeted for their "Cities of Refuge" campaign. After hearing their plans to terrorize abortion clinics, doctors, and especially women seeking abortions, local anarchists grew determined to fight these right-wing fascists and win.

THE LIBERALS

As we began to organize for the so-called siege that was expected to hit the city in June, we quickly realized that this battle would evolve into many different struggles, some within the broad pro-choice movement. The Network to Ensure Access (NEA), a local coalition formed by mainstream pro-choice groups like Planned

Parenthood and the National Organization for Women (NOW), in reaction to OR's summer plans, held non-violence training sessions for individuals interested in keeping the clinics open. These volunteers were required to submit personal identification at the sessions, and were forced to agree to remain non-violent even when taunted, spit on, or physically attacked by OR. Most embarrassing of all, they were expected to wear bright red t-shirts at the clinic defenses with slogans that whined "Keep Minnesota Nice." This tired slogan was eventually aimed at pro-choice radicals, and not at Operation Rescue. More on this twisted chain of events later.

THE ACTION COALITION FOR REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM

As radicals and anti-authoritarians, we wanted a response that would go beyond

the standard clinic defense where we are herded like cattle, with decisions being made by the elite few of the mainstream pro-choice movement and often carried out by the police. We also wanted to set a precedent by illustrating that these largely-white right-wingers, whose leaders are all men, are not welcome in our city, or anywhere. With these ideas in mind, radicals in the Twin Cities formed an alternative coalition, the Action Coalition for Reproductive Freedom (ACRF). This coalition consisted of anarchists, communists, and other leftists, many of whom had worked together resisting the Gulf War, and in other anti-imperialist work. Though we had different ideas about general organizational strategy, we came together united in our plan to fight to keep the clinics open to all women. Also, as radicals we realize that OR extends beyond being anti-choice. They represent the tip of the iceberg of a strong far-right Christian movement. Members of ACRF were committed to fighting this fascism, and agreed that these zealots needed to be confronted at the churches where they organize, as well as at the clinics.

DIRECT ACTION

Our oppositional campaign began with two successful direct action projects initiated by the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation (TCAF): a billboarding spree and a poster-rampage. The controversial poster which defiantly raged "Operation Rescue, come to our town, we'll lock you in a church and burn the fucker down!" was plastered all over the Twin Cities, including Calvary Temple, the church that was hosting OR. The church's leaders held a press conference the next day, blaming "militant anarchists" for the action. This incident triggered the beginning of our hideous (non)relationship with the mainstream press, who spit out words like anarchist, militant, and radical right along with thugs, fanatics, and violence (big shock). To the media, it all simply meant the same, bad and dangerous to "Minnesota Nice."

THE COMMUNISTS

Unfortunately, besides dealing with the liberals, the media, and the police, we were forced to focus on another disruptive force, the National Women's Rights Organizing Committee (NWROC), a front group for the Revolutionary Workers League, a Trotskyist group based in Detroit. That NWROC came to Minneapolis was not shocking; they are known to travel from city to city to fight OR and others not in the vanguard. The RWL has a history of disrupting positive political organizing, they are especially known for their authoritarian behavior during the Gulf War. About 15 members from NWROC arrived with plans to organize us, the masses, into a "mass militant movement," without consideration that radicals in the Twin Cities had been organizing for months, and had to live here once all the frenzy died down. In their first of many flyers, they criticized anarchists who are only interested in "self-expression." After several small negotiating meetings between members of NWROC and the ACRF, where mostly all we heard was repeated rhetoric like "militant mass movement," "no reliance on cops, courts and Democrats," "militant mass movement..." our fears that they would disrupt our coalition organizing were great. An entire article could be devoted to explaining their annoying presence, but that would be a waste of time. Just one example paints their arrogance clearly: Members of NWROC insisted on having a démonstration for the Minnesota 8 (eight African-American men imprisoned unjustly in the shooting of a white cop). They did this without getting the basic facts of the situation, and after the Committee for Equal Justice for the Minnesota 8 (a group founded and lead by African-American women who have been organizing for close to a year) had told them they were not interested in having a demonstration for strategic reasons.

NWROC was here, at least for the week, and we could not ignore this very annoying fact; all we could hope was that these folks would not be completely disruptive. Many other activists from around the country came to Minneapolis for this week—anarchists from Chicago, Detroit, and New York, along with members of Refuse and Resist! and the Revolutionary Communist



Party (RCP). These comrades made it clear that they were in Minneapolis to support and assist the organizers who lived here. They were essential in the defeat of OR, and I am grateful to them for coming.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

ACRF had decided to hold big, open, democratically run meetings during the "Week of Refuge." The purpose of these meetings was to assess the day's events and plan for the next day. We hoped that people who felt alienated and disempowered from the top-down organizing of the NEA would come to these meetings and participate in the actual decision-making of the group. These meetings were well attended and very long. One of the items that was repeatedly on the agenda was what organizational structure for clinic defense and demonstrations would we adhere to. We decided on following a structure proposed by anarchists which consisted of a rotating coordinating committee, affinity groups, and runners. By the end of the week many non-anarchists were arguing against this model and for a more hierarchical structure; however, most anarchists feel like this was the most participatory and democratic way of organizing ourselves, and that it was a success.

MORE DIRECT ACTION

All this is a little background on what was the most intense, concentrated week of political work that members of AWOL (my political collective) have experienced in a very long time. On Friday, July 9, a demonstration was held at the church in the suburbs where OR had their kickoff rally. Close to one hundred protestors, dressed in black with masks on their faces surprised the few police and security, who were totally unprepared. We blocked cars from entering the driveway to the church, angrily chanting "The clinics are open, the church is closed!" Not only did we make an intimidating presence; we acted as a united raging force—it was clear that we would not passively sit around while OR was in town. In marched the cops, some in riot gear, but it was too late. Our point was made. Since we were not interested in having any demonstrators arrested, a legal

picket line was formed on the grass in front of the church. Threatening "We'll see you tomorrow (at the clinic)," pro-choice activists rejoiced in a successful beginning to the week. Inside the church at which we were demonstrating, Pat Mahoney, one of their leaders, warned the congregation that OR was losing this battle waged against women. And for once he was right.

POKEY'S LAST STAND

Due to recent laws passed in Minnesota to protect abortion clinics, only a small number of protestors, anti-or pro-choice, were allowed to be on clinic property. The NEA had told two thousand volunteers to stay at home and wait to be called in. Members of the ACRF agreed that this was strategically unwise. What would happen when OR stormed the clinic? Would we all wait around for the police to slowly arrest those protestors blocking the clinic? We realized the potential for this scene to reoccur was great, and decided we would not let OR past the driveway. This meant mobilizing as many activists as possible, starting in the pre-dawn morning and staying until clinics closed for the day (much to the chagrin of the clinic higher-ups, who gave us a small space on the sidewalks and instructed us not to chant or cause trouble as they rolled their eyes).

What we expected at the clinics during this week was a siege of hundreds of "pro-lifers" blocking and storming the clinics. What we got was no more than fifty of them at one time, and sometimes as few as five, picketing, smiling, singing, and praying. OR leaders claimed they were presenting themselves as they are—peaceful, loving, law-abiding citizens, but we knew better. We were aware that there were very few "pro-lifers" in Minneapolis who were willing to block clinics, possibly because of the intimidation radicals caused by being aggressively, and uncompromisingly confrontational. Also, I think people realized that this movement of the fetus-obsessed is actually dying. Except for a few minor skirmishes, like with a big, leather vested "pro-lifer" named Pokey and endless quibbles in the hot sun with members of NWROC, clinic defense was mostly noneventful, which was fine with us. The clinics remained open and accessible to women seeking abortions. Two of our com-

rades got arrested the first day, but charges were dropped. Even the red-shirted NEA members cheered us the last day, like they appreciated our strong presence.

POLICE RIOT

One of the more intense, action-packed days was on Sunday, July 11, when a demonstration was held outside Calvary Temple while churchgoers prayed for unborn fetuses. What they saw going into church was an outrageous, festive display of opposition. Around two hundred people were chanting slogans like "Pray, You'll Need It. Your Cause Has Been Defeated!" queers in drag were kissing and humping in the street, drums were banged, whistles shrieked, and the Church Ladies for Choice exuberantly lead the crowd in hymns such as "God is a Lesbian." Cops continuously attempted to push people behind the barricades, but to no avail. The crowd quieted down as the rally began. Suddenly, without warning, the police attacked the unsuspecting MS's who happened to be behind the barricades on "legal" territory. One was quickly thrown into a cop car, while protestors immediately surged to the other MC's defense. An unarrest seemed imminent, until the cops sprayed mace and pepper gas indiscriminately into the crowd, which included several small children. If the cops thought mace would control the crowd, they were mistaken. Angry, injured demonstrators linked arms and blocked the police car that the two protestors were in. The cops attacked the crowd, subsequently arresting four more demonstrators, one of whom was kneeling on the grass of a neighbor hosing the mace out of his eyes. Another cop car was

blocked with demonstrators shouting "Let him go!" What began as a celebratory theatrical festival turned into a virtual police riot.

All was not lost, however. The militancy and unity among demonstrators that occurred in the wake of the attack was very powerful. Most of the protestors were in the street, linking up, unarresting, and helping those most injured. People responded to the unexpected brutal attack with an overwhelming solidarity that made me think we were in the midst of an actual revolutionary social movement. Most of

the demonstrators went directly to jail to demand the release of those arrested. All but two of the folks arrested were held for 36 hours due to unusually high bail; as well as being banned from the church and the clinics for the rest of the week.

THE AFTERMATH

Of course the press pounced on this situation as they did all week and manipulated the facts to make it seem like the demonstrators caused the violence and the cops were just trying to control the crowd. The press concentrated their concoction on the fact that there were many "outsiders" agitating and ruining the pro-choice movement (NWROC happened to be media mongers on top of everything else.) Editorials in the Star Tribune congratulated the police and compared the radical's tactics with those of OR. The NEA quickly denounced us publicly (not the first time that week!); they were "repelled" by our tactics and worried aloud that we were painting the pro-choice movement as violent. After having a discussion, the ACRF decided to hold a press conference the next day at which we described this experience as a brutal police attack when we were exercising our right to protest. We also explained that we had absolutely nothing in common with OR, and that our strategy was to confront OR on their fascist agenda. Even though we know the press is twisted and that liberals will always hate our tactics, we agreed that strategically the press conference was a wise move. The criticism from the press continued all week; our failure would be their success. Except we know we did not fail.

It seems like no matter how hard activists fight, we rarely win. Except this time we were victorious. We fought against these fas-

cists right next to (or sometimes under!) unprincipled and often authoritarian "allies." We saw the demise of Operation Rescue in the Twin Cities, partly due to our unprecedented aggressiveness

and opposition, and partly because their movement is losing, bigtime. As anti-authoritarians, we realize now that we made many mistakes. But we are also united in a way we

have never been before, because there is nothing in the world that compares to coming together in fierce political action and winning.

Charges for the six arrested at Calvary Temple range from

obstruction to assault—two of these folks are local, three are from Chicago, and one from Detroit. Five of those arrested are facing a trial this fall. Several have gross misdemeanor charges.

Anti-Fascists Converge on Chattanooga

BY JOHN JOHNSON

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE WAS once the most polluted city in the Southeast. Now it is the "scenic city" and the place for tourists to come and spend money. Chattanooga is your stereotypical Southern city. The rich, white elite live in comfort atop the surrounding mountains and ridges and the rest of us live in the valley below. Once a thriving industrial and rail hub, Chattanooga is now struggling to become part of the "New South" and base its economy on tourism.

The power structure here cannot be as openly racist as it has been in the past. A lawsuit by activists from the Black community (including anarchist Lorenzo Ervin) forced the city to change its form of government so that Blacks would have equal representation. So, like other cities in the "new" South, we see lots of black faces in the government bureaucracy and even some in the business community. But the majority of Black people in Chattanooga still live in segregated neighborhoods, and they still face discrimination from employers and the police. Two of the bigger Black neighborhoods on the south side of Chattanooga are a virtual industrial wasteland, home to about 40 suspected hazardous waste sites. The "New South" is not so "new." There are a few hate groups around, like the Hamilton County Christian Guard in East Ridge (a suburb) and the thinly veiled racist rhetoric of David Duke and Pat Buchanan is immensely popular here.

Around the time of the Gay Pride Parade

controversy in June (controversial because the city government tried to tell the Pride Committee where and when it could march. Threatened ACLU action put the city council in its place real quick!), activists learned of a planned Ku Klux Klan rally in reaction to the Gay Pride Parade. The Klan march was going to be sponsored by the Lookout Mountain Knights of the KKK and was set for Saturday, Sept 11. The march was supposed to be against the Gay Pride Committee and in support of the white cops who had recently been acquitted in the "accidental" death of Black motorist Larry Powell. Powell was arrested for driving under the influence on Feb. 5 and died as a result of a series of three chokeholds applied by the pigs to "restrain" him after he allegedly resisted arrest. A grand jury cleared the pigs of any wrongdoing in May. The Powell murder and other cases of police brutality and murder have been the focal point of an anti-cop campaign by a broad coalition of activists which resulted in the now-infamous Chattanooga 8 incident. [For more info on all of these events, please see Sept 1993 *Love and Rage* (Vol 4 #4) —PG]

Local anti-racist activists from the Justice Alliance, the Concerned Citizens for Justice and the newly formed Robin Hood Collective began to organize an Ad Hoc Coalition Against Racism and Police Brutality. The Ad Hoc Coalition was formed to promote and organize a vocal and disruptive counter-demonstration to the planned Klan march. We were pleased that the idiots in the Klan gave us three months

to organize. In late July we learned that the Krazy Knucklehead Kreeps had withdrawn their request for a permit to march. The Ad Hoc Coalition felt it was important to have a demonstration anyway, to express solidarity with the Gay Pride Committee, demonstrate against racism and hate groups, and address the ongoing problem of police brutality in Chattanooga.

Although some outreach was done in July, we intensified our efforts throughout August. The Ad Hoc Coalition decided to host a Rock Against Racism concert the evening of the 11th and to sponsor an anti-racist activist mini-conference on the 12th. Throughout August invitations were sent to a variety of groups around the region and across the country. We sent mailings to radical gay and lesbian groups, anti-racist groups, anarchist groups, African-American community groups and others. In the 2 1/2 weeks preceding the march we focused mainly on Chattanooga: we distributed press releases, spread thousands of fliers throughout our community, and we even got on radio talk shows to publicize the event!

As Sept 11 drew near, we realized we had never applied for a permit from the city. After a brief meeting we decided that since part of the demo was focusing on police brutality, why ask the pigs for permission to march?

The demonstration itself was quite a success. Activists from all over came to support us. Folks from Atlanta, Knoxville, Murfreesboro (TN), Alabama, Memphis, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, New York, and New Jersey came for the demo and conference. A big "thanks" for everyone who came out!

We marched around downtown Chattanooga for about an hour. We took the streets and the cops couldn't (or wouldn't) do a damn thing about it. We marched down to the fish prison (aquarium), the newest tourist trap in town, and ruffled a few feathers down there. The ruling elite hate it when tourists are exposed to anything other than what they paid for in their vacation package! We had a successful rally at the Chattanooga/Hamilton County (In)Justice Building.

There we heard a variety of speakers addressing the issues of racism, homophobia and police brutality. Everyone got a good laugh when a wayward AYFer blocked the pigs' video camera with a huge red and black flag, and when we all started to chant "jump! jump!" at the pigs who were filming us from the top of a nearby parking garage. After the rally we took to the streets again



Chattanooga are very homophobic and did not want to participate in a demo against homophobia. A lot of folks are also scared of the police and the power structure here in Chattanooga. They don't want to threaten their job security and families. The biggest problem is that we have not

and headed to the park to get free grub from the newly formed Food Not Bombs group. The Rock Against Racism concert began at 4:30 and attracted quite a crowd. Funny how folks will come out for music but not to demonstrate about important issues.

There were a few problems with the

demo. Not enough local folks came out. I think that this can be attributed to a number of factors. Since there were no fascists

to confront, a lot of folks stayed home as there would be no "action." Another reason may be that a lot of people in

made enough strong alliances throughout the community, especially the Black community. This is something we intend to work on in the coming year. We want to build a solid activist "infrastructure" so that we can support each other's struggles more effectively. We also had to compete with two liberal events: a bluegrass fundraising concert for the Native Center, and a commercial Native American Pow-Wow up on Raccoon Mountain. Another mistake we made was not having some sort of flyer to hand out to folks explaining why we were in the streets. Oh

well, lessons well-learned. If anybody else noticed some problems please write and let us know—constructive criticism is always welcome!

The mini-conference went pretty well, all things considered. We decided to start on Saturday afternoon because some of the folks from way off (Yankees!) needed to leave early on Sunday. The conference was a good place for anti-racist activists to get to know each other and share info.

We overwhelmingly rejected a proposal by the Detroit-based Revolutionary Workers' League (RWL) to launch a national coalition against racism. Most folks felt that anti-racist groups and activists are not sufficiently linked across North America. Some felt that the Chattanooga meeting was too small and totally lacking in diversity. Others simply did not want to enter into coalitions with a Trotskyist group.

The meeting resumed on Sunday and for reasons known to the participants, I was not fully able to participate. The feel I got from most activists was that a national coalition against racism would be a good thing in the future, but a lot more local organizing was necessary before it could be launched.

Overall, I felt it was a successful weekend and it showed the strength of Love and Rage to be able to mobilize activists around a specific action. It was also a great opportunity for us to get to know each other better and build friendships and trust.★



Pogromnacht Forum in Minneapolis

BY LAURA LIB

THE ANTI-RACIST WORKING GROUP of the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation and the Jewish Activist Minyan cosponsored a well-attended forum on Nov 9 entitled: "Fighting Fascism, then and now." The poster advertising the event used the skinhead/storm trooper/pope image from the *Love and Rage* (vol. 4, no. 4) centerfold, which caused quite a controversy. A local rabbi and others objected to the image of the Pope, on the grounds that it equated the Catholic Church with the Nazis. To clear things up, someone from the audience gave us a complimentary presentation on the history of Catholicism's dealings with fascists.

The forum featured a video on non-Jewish partisan resistance to the WW II Nazi government. In addition, four local activists spoke on various topics: fascism and the christian right, Jewish partisan resistance, local anti-fascist organizing and the logic of fascism and social control in America. The debate focused mostly around the issue of "free speech," tactics for opposing neo-Nazis, the history of fascism and fascist elements and dangers in the US. Anarchists sparred with the Trotskyists, as usual. Members of the local Socialist Workers Party (SWP) preached the "build the mass movement" line, this time to rationalize a hands-off position on hate speech so as not to "alienate the working class" (to whose innermost thoughts only the SWP are privy). The high point of the forum was getting the SWP folks to admit that their position, however "tactical," was unprincipled. Nothing like commanding that moral high ground.

A healthy debate over anti-fascist tactics still rages within the anarchist movement. Issues that came up at the forum were: building a principled opposition to hate groups instead of a "free market" of ideas, the dangers of having speech restrictions turned against us and the issue of physical violence. Fun was had by all.★

No Hope for Nazis in New Hope, PA

By TODD PRANE AND ELIZABETH BRIGHT

ON NOV 6, 1993, ANTI-FASCISTS from the Northeast confronted cops and Nazis in New Hope, PA. The USA Nationalist Party, a small Nazi bonehead organization based in northern Philadelphia, announced they would march in New Hope and rally in nearby Washington Crossing park, activities they called "Gay Bash '93". New Hope is a town in northeastern Pennsylvania with a strong queer community. Anti-fascists from New York came on two buses organized by Love and Rage and three vans organized by the International Socialist Organization (ISO). In addition to Love and Rage and ISO, groups in attendance included Mayday RASH skins (Red and Anarchist Skin Heads—anti-racist skin-head crew from Brooklyn and New Jersey), ACT-UP, QUISP (Queers United In Support of Political Prisoners), and several Trotskyist organizations. Many unaffiliated individuals went to confront the Nazis as well.

NAZIS DEFEATED

The Nazis were largely defeated even before our arrival. On Thursday, in a joint press conference with the cops, they announced their withdrawal of a request for a permit to march. The reason given was safety (police estimated 2,000 to 3,000 counter-demonstrators). Creating the possibility of hundreds or thousands of counter-protestors willing to physically confront the Nazis made it impossible for them to march.

THE RALLY AT WASHINGTON CROSSING

The march was cancelled, but the rally at Washington Crossing park went on as scheduled. Buses from Philadelphia and New

York full of rowdy anarchists, queers, Trotskyists, ACT-UP folks, and others arrived in the downtown area shortly after 10 a.m. and headed towards the scene of the confrontation. By the time the second New York bus and Philly buses headed south, cops had blocked off access to route 32 in anticipation of trouble. Several crowds of people decided

to walk around the road block and four miles down the road to the park.

Washington Crossing Park is divided into two sections, separated by over four miles of road. A "Stop the Hate" rally was held in the southern section sponsored by a loose coalition including Peacekeepers' Network and Sane-Freeze. The Nazi "Gay

Bash '93" rally was in the northern section. "Stop the Hate," billed as "non-violent and non-confrontational," seemed calculated to draw attention and people away from any real confrontation. It succeeded to some extent. Around 50 demonstrators interested

(Continued to page 17)



Queer love (inset) and anti-fascist skinhead rage in New Hope

New Hope

(Continued from page 7)

in confronting the Nazis were stopped by police road blocks at the bottom section of the park. About 300 or so people attended the "Stop the Hate" rally.

Most of the action occurred at the northern section of the park where the Nazis and counter-demonstrators converged, poised for a confrontation. About 400 riot cops, including a contingent on horses, were determined to allow little or no contact between the anti-fascists and the Nazis, and the geography of the site was in their favor.

ROCKS ACROSS THE RIVER

When the first bus from New York arrived at the northern park, we quickly realized that there were very few anarchists there—most of them were on the two "lost" (to our knowledge) Philly buses and on the other NYC bus. The National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition (NWROC—a front group of the Revolutionary Workers' League) "leadership" was controlling the crowd, leading chants while developing no plan of action. Cops were lined up along the park entrance in front of us, and they seemed willing to tolerate us. They had effectively cut off the anti-fascists from the Nazis (barring a cold swim in a canal into the waiting arms of more riot cops). The New York anarchists decided that until the other anti-authoritarians got there, the best thing to do was to develop a relationship with the NWROC people and think about possible strategies for the day.

Soon after that, the Nazis down at the canal started to chant and became visible to us through the woods. The NWROC plan for "confronting" them was to stay almost out of visible distance, and chant loudly to drown out the Nazis at the river. This would, according to them, diminish the Nazis' effectiveness. The general feeling of the anti-authoritarians was that this chanting idea was silly, and finally everyone, including NWROC, went down to the river.

People started throwing rocks at the Nazis, scoring several direct hits which caused them to retreat from the edge of the canal and back up the banks to the cops. About five Klansmen arrived, white hoods and all, and were interviewed by the press. We found out later that the Klansmen called the USANP cowards for not confronting us directly. The crowd then went

back up to the road where we stayed for most of the rest of the demo.

ON THE ROAD AGAIN

Most of the rest of the confrontations were with the line of cops on the road to the bridge separating us and the Nazis. As the crowd returned from the confrontations at the bank of the canal, a group of people who had walked from town, including anarchists and others from New York and Philadelphia, arrived at the scene. Those who missed the first spate of confrontations because they had been blocked by the cops were treated to a barrage of lectures, sectarian rhetoric, and authoritarian communist propaganda, totally inappropriate and unrelated to the situation. The anarchists and most of the unaffiliated crowd became immediately frustrated with the rhetoric which was preventing any tactical discussion of our current situation. Anarchists gathered away from the NWROC bull horn to discuss tactics.

A hasty decision was made to link arms and face-off against the cops who were standing across the road that led to a bridge across the canal. The idea was to show the people there how to link arms and to organize ourselves and other members of the crowd more thoroughly so that we could create and react to possibilities the cops might leave open. The face-off, quickly aborted as cops on horseback pushed us back, was premature but it did succeed in demonstrating that sort of physical unity to the crowd and raised the overall level of militancy. After this confrontation the crowd consistently linked arms whenever a confrontation with the cops seemed likely.

THE TROUBLE WITH NWROC

One of the greatest difficulties of the day was organizing and communicating between groups with very different organizational styles, backgrounds, politics, and commitments to action. Love and Rage, Philadelphia Troublemakers and Anarchists, and a large number of individual anarchists, when taken as a single group formed the largest contingent at the bridge, followed by the ISO, NWROC, each with 25 or so people, and a host of much smaller contingents of several other Trotskyist groups. Many of the participants, including the ISO, were principled in their commitment to acting in coordination with others, and uninterested in spending time and effort in-fighting. But during the confrontation, the RWL lived up

to its already-bad reputation.

Although the RWL helped communicate information with other groups and, to their credit, arrived at the site before other people and therefore had more information to contribute, unfortunately, the character of almost all of their activity was to tell everyone what to do.

One of the most frustrating incidents involved NWROC spouting rhetoric from the fence on the side of the road while most other people were confronting the cops. In the end the crowd got fed up with them and chanted "Act, not Talk" loudly enough to drown out the rhetorician on the bull horn.

THREE SPOTTERS SPOTTED

Three white supremacist spotters were observed early in the day and ultimately confronted by a section of the crowd made up of roughly ten NWROCers and ten other people. With the exception of one Black NWROCer, the NWROCers preferred militant posturing to actual fighting. The white supremacists were kicked and punched and eventually chased off. The Mayday Skins were instrumental in making this happen. What was interesting, though, was that most of the crowd had noticed these three men earlier and no one or group of people had the will or the skills to confront them. All three were quite big men and this certainly had something to do with it, but it also spoke to the overall militancy of the crowd.

WRAP-UP

The Nazis left, more or less safely under heavy police protection, heading south away from the larger number of counter-demonstrators. The cops dispersed, and we all went home. The event was certainly a statement about the increased ability of anarchists to organize for such events. In both New York and Philadelphia, anarchists experienced being the main, or only, set of people organizing for Nov 6. This counter-demonstration presented organizational difficulties (the park divided into two parts, the road blocks, the canal) which were major obstacles. Political differences, a lack of agreed-on tactics, and a lack of militancy made the action much less effective. A number of mistakes were made in organizing this action. The most significant was our failure to build a participatory coalition far enough in advance of the action to work out some of the differences in tactics and political perspectives so that we could go in with an effective overall plan of action. But on the whole it was a strong showing for our first effort to build a regional anti-fascist action in the Northeast.

For more info about working with Love and Rage on anti-racist or anti-fascist work contact:

Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group
PO Box 24703
Detroit, MI 48224

Pogromnacht Anti-Fascist Conference in Mexico, DF

BY TODD PRANE (REPORTED BY ANA LAURA HERNANDEZ)

TO COMMEMORATE POGROMNACHT (KRISTALLNACHT) and participate in the international day of anti-fascist actions, on Nov 9 in Mexico City an anti-fascist conference was held at the Centro Cultural del Tecolote of the UNAM. Over 200 people showed up to listen to comments by four speakers and participate in discussion relating to the topic. Among the speakers were a Belgian youth, Danny Yerna, who spoke of xenophobia in Belgium and gave advice for confronting organized hate groups; Gustavo Rodriguez gave a historical analysis of the rise of racism in the United States, from slavery to present times; a German comrade discussed the situation of rising fascism in Germany; Omar Cortés discussed the situation in Mexico, which gave rise to a long debate about current conditions in Mexico and anti-indigenous racism and discrimination.★

Columbus: Fighting the Klan

BY JEAN-MARC DIVELLOUR

BUOYED BY THE SUCCESS OF MOBILIZING anti-fascist anarchists to Chattanooga, Tenn. in September (See *Love and Rage*, vol 4 no 5), the Love and Rage Anti-Racist Working Group decided to help organize people to Columbus, Ohio to demonstrate against a planned Ku Klux Klan rally on Oct 23. Columbus was one in a series of eight cities in the Midwest chosen by the Knights of the KKK to hold publicity and recruitment rallies. This is the most prominent and "mainstream" Klan grouping, and is headed by Thom Robb. They have presented themselves as "non-violent" and as denouncing the violent past. This, along with heavy organizing and national speaking tours, have flung Thom Robb's Klan to the forefront of the mainstream media.

This upsurge in activity from the right-wing has not gone unnoticed, however, as evidenced by the 2,000 people, mostly African youth, who showed up to tell the Klan what they thought of their racist ideas. The City had put in a lot of time and money to give protection for the 15-20 Klanspeople on the steps of the State Capitol. Prior to the demonstration it was announced that the City had been planning for weeks a new strategy of containment to avoid the kind of

attacks on the Klan that anti-racists had delivered in Indianapolis just weeks before. The liberals, who had no problems with the massive build-up in general, were hesitant to green-light the funds for it. They raised criticisms of the new 7-foot stainless steel fence built around the Capitol for the event.

They were far more concerned about the "effectiveness" of the expensive fence than the fascist implications of it: anti-racists were caged and controlled while the Klan had free roam of the State Capitol.

However, the police and the media, celebrated victory, touting the fence, the metal detectors, pat-downs of every demonstrator, and enormous show of police force (200-300 riot cops with divisions on horses and many

Resisting Fascism In Whittier

BY CHRIS CRASS

THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FASCISM IS ON THE RISE, AND Whittier, Calif., is very much part of that world. On Nov 9, on the International Day of Action Against Fascism, anarchists came together in Whittier to protest the fascism, characterized by anti-immigrant sentiment among the general white population and the homophobic activity of the religious right that has been building in the community. Although there were only 15 of us, we stood at the busy intersection with our signs and banners and let people know that there was opposition to the status quo.

The demonstration was organized by the SoCal Web Collective. Members of the Long Beach Food Not Bombs, Alternative Gathering Campaign, and the United Anarchist Front took part.

On Nov 14, a Rock Against Fascism concert at the Hong Kong Cafe was attended by 200 people. The show, organized by the Alternative Gathering Campaign, generated money for People Against Racist Terror, who did a presentation at the show.★

hidden) as being deciding factors in avoiding attacks on the Klan and police by anti-racists. Even so, demonstrators came painfully close to tearing down the fence during the speeches by the fascists and were promptly tear-gassed by the lines of cops protecting the fence. When this didn't work, people began to tear branches off of the trees and try to clock the pigs (both white and blue).

Not surprisingly, people who are directly in sight of the Klan, with its history of racist brutality, who had no outlet to vent righteous anger need to express this outrage. Many African youth did that by getting together outside the fences and metal detectors and dialoguing with the crowds of people hanging around. This was the most important part of the entire event. White kids had to listen to some righteous and right-on criticisms about white-skin privilege and middle-class control of the anti-racist movement delivered by mostly working-class African

woman turned around and walked out into the street facing the lines of riot cops, many of whom were white women and Black men, and talked about the real racist threat facing Black youth in 1993: the cops.

After about two hours of white kids standing with Black kids against racism and the white Columbus power structure, the energy began to dissipate and the police broke up the remaining crowds. Even though the cops showed restraint in using the traditional head-cracking tactics during the whole event, it was clear that we were the ones in control that evening. For the crowds of white kids, this was an education they couldn't have gotten anywhere else. And for the African youth, this was a time to organize and make political connections, and also to pose a threat to the system that beats down so many people of color. Maybe next time we can rip down those fences, both physical and in white people's heads, and finally beat down racism once and for all.★



Second Annual Anti-Fascist Day of Action in México

BY ANA L. HERNÁNDEZ
TRANSLATED BY TODD PRANE

A second Mexican Anti-Fascist Day of Action was carried out in November, 1994, by the Anti-Fascist Working Group of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. The first day of action took place in November, 1993, in the Tecolote Cultural Forum—UNAM (National Autonomous University of México) and was the beginning of a series of conferences and roundtables in which *compañeros* from México, France, and Belgium participated. The first day of action was to be followed by a "Rock Against Fascism" concert (which, for various reasons, did not happen), and an exposition of posters and photographs from the anti-fascist movement, among other events.

In 1994, in part due to the enormous interest in the event in '93, the conference and the "Rock Against Fascism" concert, as well as the artistic installation, opened the day of action on Nov. 4 in the University Chopo Museum. The event continued on Nov. 6 in the city of Cuernavaca in Morelos, at the invitation of the *Enterrando Prejuicios* [Burying Prejudices] zine. Within the event there was a sub-conference called the "First Conference for Your Rights," designed to spread information about the human rights of youths.

This allowed the event to reach a much wider and more diverse audience. The

event was carried out in the Plaza de Armas, where the art installation was put up with the help of entire families. The event was well-covered by the local press.

The intention of these events, worldwide, is to make Nov. 9 an "International Day of Anti-Fascism." November 9 marks one of the worst atrocities against the Jewish people in particular, and against humanity in general. This day is more widely known as the "Night of Broken Glass" (Kristallnacht), when the nazis attacked Jews in their homes and stores throughout Germany. It is also the night of the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

For the past several years, this date has been a day of fascist demonstrations and violent, xenophobic attacks in Germany. Since 1985, and even more so since the fall of the Berlin Wall, neo-nazi groups have picked this day to attack immigrant hostels, especially those that house Turks, and to attack Jews and Blacks. These attacks have extended throughout Europe, the US, and Canada, making the day one of nazi/fascist celebration. Recently, it has been given a new meaning—it has become a day of anti-fascist action.

WHAT ARE ANTI-FASCIST DAYS OF ACTION?

Recently, German anti-fascist groups, specifically the anarchist anti-fascists, have taken to the streets to confront the nazis and the complicity of the authorities in fascist violence. Due to these successful confrontations, the day has been reclaimed as a "Day of International Anti-Fascist Action."



The smashing of the van.

On Nov. 9 of last year, a number of anti-fascist actions took place in different cities in North America and Europe. Anti-Fascist groups in the US, Canada, and México coordinated an international day of anti-fascist action on this side of the ocean, for the first time. This year anti-fascist actions were carried out again. Participation in the discussions made the growing interest in anti-fascism among anti-authoritarians clear. The "Rock Against Fascism" concert included groups "La Chorcha" and "Inconciente Colectivo." The artistic installation of Francisco Valdez and Hugo Navarro, along with other artists, expressed the xenophobic

and racist politic that has manifested itself on both sides of the US-México border—the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), "la migra," in the US against immigrants, mainly Latin Americans, and the Mexican Army, against Chiapanecos and immigrants from other parts of Latin America who have the misfortune to fall in the army's corrupt and murderous claws.

It is important for all of us who are interested in changing this world to have an analysis of the situation of intolerance that exists worldwide. We must also confront fascists locally in an organized, militant manner.★

BY SUZY MARTIN

On April 25 a diverse group of activists successfully shut down four major New York City bridges. Traffic was blocked, during rush hour, from 15 minutes to an hour at each location. The locations were divided between 4 groups: ACT-UP and neighborhood groups protesting Medicaid cuts and hospital closings; CUNY (City University of New York) students and public school teachers protesting budget cuts in public education; and groups opposed to police brutality and racist and homophobic violence (including the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence, the Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, and families of those killed by police). 185 people were arrested.

This action was significant both because of its effectiveness in disrupting the functioning of the city and because it united in practice activists from a broad range of communities. Using the focused, media-savvy civil disobedience technique that ACT-UP perfected, the action got the city's attention. This successful cooperation between different radical, grassroots groups has been an inspiration to many New Yorkers who have been hoping for a new, radical mass movement to emerge.

The simultaneous demonstrations were held the day before Mayor Giuliani presented his budget for New York City. The budget includes, among other cuts in social services, deep cuts to CUNY health care, and establishes a 90-day limit for the receipt of Home Relief money. The protests were coordinated to emphasize the fact that these cuts will be hurting many of the same

United Front Builds, then Shuts Down Bridges

BY SUZY MARTIN

people—homeless people with AIDS, for example. In the past, activists have often been divided, as one group may prevent certain budget cuts while other social services are cut deeper to compensate.

The planners of the action sought to break out of this pattern of division. It took a lot of work and months of secret, invitation-only meetings to build the coalition. Many of the groups involved in the action have identity-based politics that have nurtured a distrust for other groups. But organizing for Apr. 25th, each of the groups having its own site and demands had enough autonomy to build a sense of trust among groups. They didn't have to resolve all of their differences to work together.

Each of the four site-groups in turn was made up of a coalition of groups uniting around one basic issue. Activists from the Coalition for the Homeless organized homeless people, shelter residents, formerly homeless people, college students and law students to block the Brooklyn Bridge. Members of the Zulu Nation, a Black and Latino street organization, the Committee Against Anti-Asian Violence, and Asian Lesbians of the East Coast worked together with families of teenagers killed by the police to block the Manhattan Bridge. This coalition work, based on a consciousness of

racism, sexism, and homophobia within the movement—a consciousness raised by identity politics—is more inclusive than the practice of the movements of the '60s, when issues raised by subordinated groups were often ignored.

The secrecy maintained during the months of planning helped make the protest effective. It was well organized and caught the police off guard. It went beyond the acceptable forms of protest in New York City—authorities were outraged that activists did not notify the police before the civil disobedience.

Before the protest, activists planned to carry their solidarity into jail. That solidarity was tested when the authorities decided to put most of the activists through the system—which meant at least another 24 hours in jail.

In the women's holding cell, about half of the jobs and housing group—each of whom was given a summons and told to leave—refused to go until everyone was let out. The group was not large enough to coerce the police into letting everyone go. But the symbolic gesture of solidarity meant something to CUNY students who have been targeted for their movements militancy and recent media success.

Most of the people involved in the Apr. 25th protest were not new activists, but there was a new sense of energy. CUNY students jumped over barriers and ran out into highway traffic. A woman who lives in a shelter refused to move as a cop tried to drag her out of a jail cell and defeat her act of solidarity. The sense of hope that inspired these acts did not just come from a possibility of defeating the budget cuts, but from the new sense of unity achieved in organizing this action. This unity was not the result of abstract calls for unity that exist when one group subordinates its interests to another. It was unity built in practice on the basis of respect for the actual diversity and differences of experience among the groups involved. Rather than rejecting or denouncing the limitations of identity politics, Apr. 25th drew from their strengths to transcend their weaknesses. Apr. 25th represented the potential such diverse grassroots groups have for building an actual radical mass movement when we work together. ★



We Shut 'em Down: Nazis Routed in St. Paul

BY JOEL

A neo-nazi skinhead concert scheduled to take place on May 20 in St. Paul was cancelled after the combined efforts of Anti-Racist Action (ARA), various independent activists, and community members of West St. Paul forced the police to cancel the show.

TAKE ME OUT TO THE BALLGAME

Members of ARA were tipped off about the show in mid-March and began organizing against it immediately. Because nazis know the public will shut their shows down if they know about them, they have to keep the address of the gig a secret until the day of the show.

They discreetly distributed fliers telling fellow white supremacists to meet at Mounds Park in St. Paul between noon and 6:00 P.M. to pick up tickets and a map to the hall where the gig would take place.

Anti-racist activists got a hold of the flier, obtained a permit to use the park, and held an anti-racist picnic all day in order to occupy the place where the gig organizers wanted to hand out their maps. When carloads of nazis showed up from all over the Midwest, thinking they would get a map

and tickets to their rally, they were met by a crowd of 100 anti-racists led by a "baseball team" who quickly disinvited from the park any nazis who showed up. Not one nazi got out of their car the whole day. There were no fights, and despite hoards of cops, no arrests, either.

A BEAUTIFUL DAY IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

But the fun had just begun. Three days before the gig, members of Anti-Racist Action got a tip that the show was going to happen at Smith Avenue Hall in West St. Paul. Members immediately met with the owner and confirmed that the nazis had indeed booked the hall (they lied and told the owner they were having a birthday party). We urged the owner to cancel the gig. Although somewhat sympathetic, he refused to cancel the show, citing legal and financial obligations.

So we hit the streets the next day. Members of ARA went to the community surrounding the hall, fliering homes and cars and knocking on doors, talking to anyone who was home. We let people

know that a violent Nazi skinhead gang was planning on having a concert to recruit youth into their movement in their neighborhood. Naturally, the vast majority of people were very upset. We asked them to call the club owner and their city councilmen to ask them to cancel the show. Both numbers were flooded with hundreds of calls the next day. It was also obvious that many people wanted to take the streets and actively demonstrate against the nazis, so we called for a demonstration on the night of the concert.

We arrived at the hall at 7:00 to find over 200 angry community members already there. By the time 30 meek nazi skinheads entered the club to set up their equipment, almost 400 activists and neighbors were jeering them, yelling "no room

for nazis in our neighborhood!" After a couple hours, the mayor of St. Paul came (along with about 75 riot cops) and told the police to shut the show down. The nazis were hustled into a police paddy wagon and escaped through a back alley (but not before neighborhood folks chased the wagon and threw rocks at it!).

WE SHUT 'EM DOWN!

But it wasn't the cops who shut the show down, it was the demonstrators—community members, ARA, punks, anarchists, socialists, anti-racist skinheads, youth, whites, people of color, queers, etc.—who shut the show down. The mayor realized he'd have to do something or else he'd have one very angry constituency to face. People were already up in arms that the police were escorting nazis into the club and

keeping community members away from it, and at the amount of money wasted to pay for police overtime to protect a violent gang of white supremacists.

Although there were a few tensions between activists from Minneapolis and community residents, overall we worked together well. Many people thanked ARA for coming, saying that if it weren't for us they never would have known about the concert and the threat to their community.

WHO WERE THOSE NAZIS?

The show was organized by St. Paul's own Bound for Glory, one of the biggest nazi bands in the country. Also scheduled to play were two white power bands from Wisconsin and one from Germany. Last month, Bound for Glory played at a celebration for Adolph Hitler's birthday in Idaho, where militia members, Klansmen, and nazi skinheads mingled. It is the politics of bands like Bound for Glory that led to the Oklahoma City bombing, and we were having none of that in our city.

THIS IS NOT ABOUT FREE SPEECH

Contrary to what some people think, nazi gigs are not simply expressions of unpopular ideas and opinions that people are obligated to respect, if not agree with. White supremacists use these gigs as a place to recruit alienated white youth into their movement of racist violence and hatred.

This is a fact; white supremacists use the veil of free speech to conceal it. But we aren't fooled. We believe it is the responsibility of all those who care about peace and justice to exercise THEIR right to speak out against nazi organizing, and to act to stop it when possible.

Apparently, the neighborhood agreed with us. All in all, the day was a complete success. Many nazis from around the country couldn't get maps to the show, and only the bands and their roadies managed to enter the hall before the gig got cancelled. There was no violence and only two minor arrests (both released that evening).

This was a total victory for anti-racist forces in the Twin Cities.

THERE'S NO ROOM FOR NAZIS IN ANY NEIGHBORHOOD! FIGHT RACISM!

NYC Mumia Demo: Raises the Stakes

BY PAUL O'BANNION

Two hundred anti-authoritarians gathered on Aug. 11 in New York City to demand freedom for death-row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Following street theater and two short speeches, protesters got past police to take the streets for a non-permitted march. Almost immediately those playing visible leadership roles, people of color, and whites with dreadlocks, were viciously attacked by cops.

With most of the tactical team in police custody, the protesters regrouped and retook the streets, after being temporarily trapped on a sidewalk. After a mad dash through the streets, much confusion, and some demoralization, demonstrators again were confronted by cops, who struggled to keep up with the mayhem. More arrests occurred, followed by regrouping to continue the spirited and militant march. Scores of people saw the march, which wound through the highly populated Friday-night streets of lower Manhattan. Onlookers cheered the protesters on, and many took flyers explaining Mumia's case and why direct action is important. Traffic was tied up, several M-80s were thrown, a couple of windows broken, and trash cans were overturned in the streets. Hundreds of police responded to the demonstration, barricaded streets around the embattled 13th St. squats, and called in ambulances and medical teams to prepare stretchers for their intended victims.

The action was called by the Direct Action Network to Free Mumia (DAN), a coalition of anti-authoritarian organizations and individuals. The Network was initiated by anarchists frustrated by the authoritarian and liberal nature of marches and rallies organized by the NY Coalition to Free Mumia Abu-Jamal. DAN initiators rec-

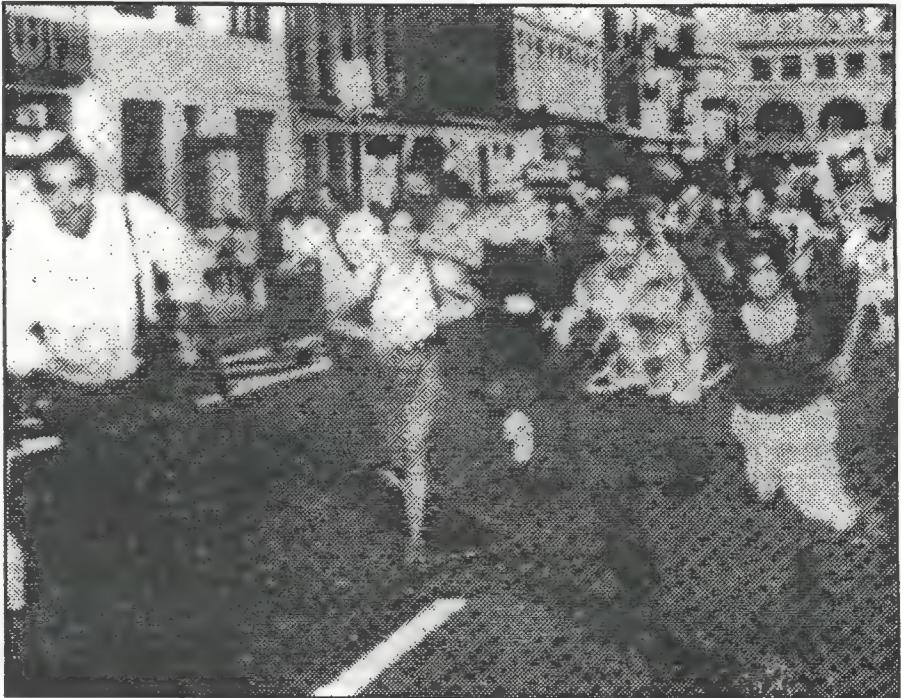
ognized many people's desires to live up to the militant rhetoric of Mumia organizing.

The action was organized in two weeks, called during the desperate period prior to when Mumia got an indefinite stay of execution. Organizers felt that a militant street response was necessary to help free Mumia, despite some anarchists' passive fatalism and liberal concerns about "violence." Even though Mumia got a stay just prior to the action, enough people recognized the fight was by no means over, and came out for the demonstration.

This was the first NY Mumia action to receive wide-spread media coverage. It

made all the local late-night TV news programs, radio news, one daily and two weekly newspapers. Despite being a near-disaster, many people were enthused and inspired afterwards, and are currently planning future actions. DAN encourages direct action training—practicing unarrests and bloc formations—to increase our unity and organization in the streets. The group is also engaged in research for future actions and propaganda, as well as having in-depth political discussion around the various issues raised by the effort to free Mumia and fundamentally change society.

Fourteen people were arrested, including five for felonies. Dozens of people showed up for the first court date for the felony charges, where an adjournment until Feb., 1996 was granted to the DA. Word is that the pigs are still pissed about the action. The DA may reduce or drop most of the charges, but pursue those involving charges involving alleged assaults on officers. Several protesters were severely beaten by cops. Five cops were sent to the hospital. ★★★★★



Mumia Supporters Descend on Harrisburg

Over a thousand demonstrators descended on Harrisburg, Penn. on Tuesday Jan. 17, 1995 during the inauguration of Republican Tom Ridge as governor. Chanting "Free Mumia" and "No Justice, No Peace," the demonstration made its way to city hall near the governors' platform. Coming from New York, New Jersey, Chicago, Washington, DC, Chicago, as well as Canada, the enraged demonstrators assured an unpleasant day for the governor, who ran on a law and order platform stressing his desire to sign death warrants when elected.

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an award-winning journalist and political activist, who was convicted of the murder of a Philadelphia cop on Dec. 9, 1981. The facts of Mumia's trial have been well documented elsewhere. The Judge, Albert Sabo, has sentenced more people to death than any other sitting judge. Jamal was denied the right to represent himself or have an attorney of his choice. All Blacks, except two were excluded from the jury, in a city which is over 40% Black. Critical evidence that demonstrated Jamal's innocence was suppressed. Mumia Abu-Jamal was convicted and sentenced to death because of his membership in the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. Further evidence of this is the Penn. Supreme Court's affirmation of Mumia's death sentence and the US Supreme Court's refusal to hear Jamal's appeals, which emphasized his membership in the Party.

The legal lynching of Mumia must be stopped. Every time Mumia has had a chance to speak on his charges and the powers of the state he has been silenced. After announcing plans to air a series of commentaries by Jamal, National Public Radio (NPR) caved in to pressure by the Philadelphia Fraternal Order of the Police, canceling the broadcasts. Senate Republican Leader and 1996 Presidential hopeful Bob Dole threatened to cut off NPR's funding.

The Penn. Department of Corrections transferred Mumia to its super maximum security prison on Jan. 13. This super-max is not only further away from Mumia's supporters, it tightens the conditions of his lockdown. Further, Waynesburg is a hotbed of neo-nazi and Klan activity.

Fight to free Mumia!
Mumia's new
address is:

Mumia Abu-Jamal, # AM-8335
SCI Greene
1040 East Roy Furman Highway
Waynesburg, PA, 15370

Write:

Governor Tom Ridge
Main Capital Bldg., RM 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120
(717) 783-1198
Fax (717) 783-1396 or (717) 787-7859



Jan. 17 in Harrisburg

April 9 Demonstration in DC

BY CAROLYN

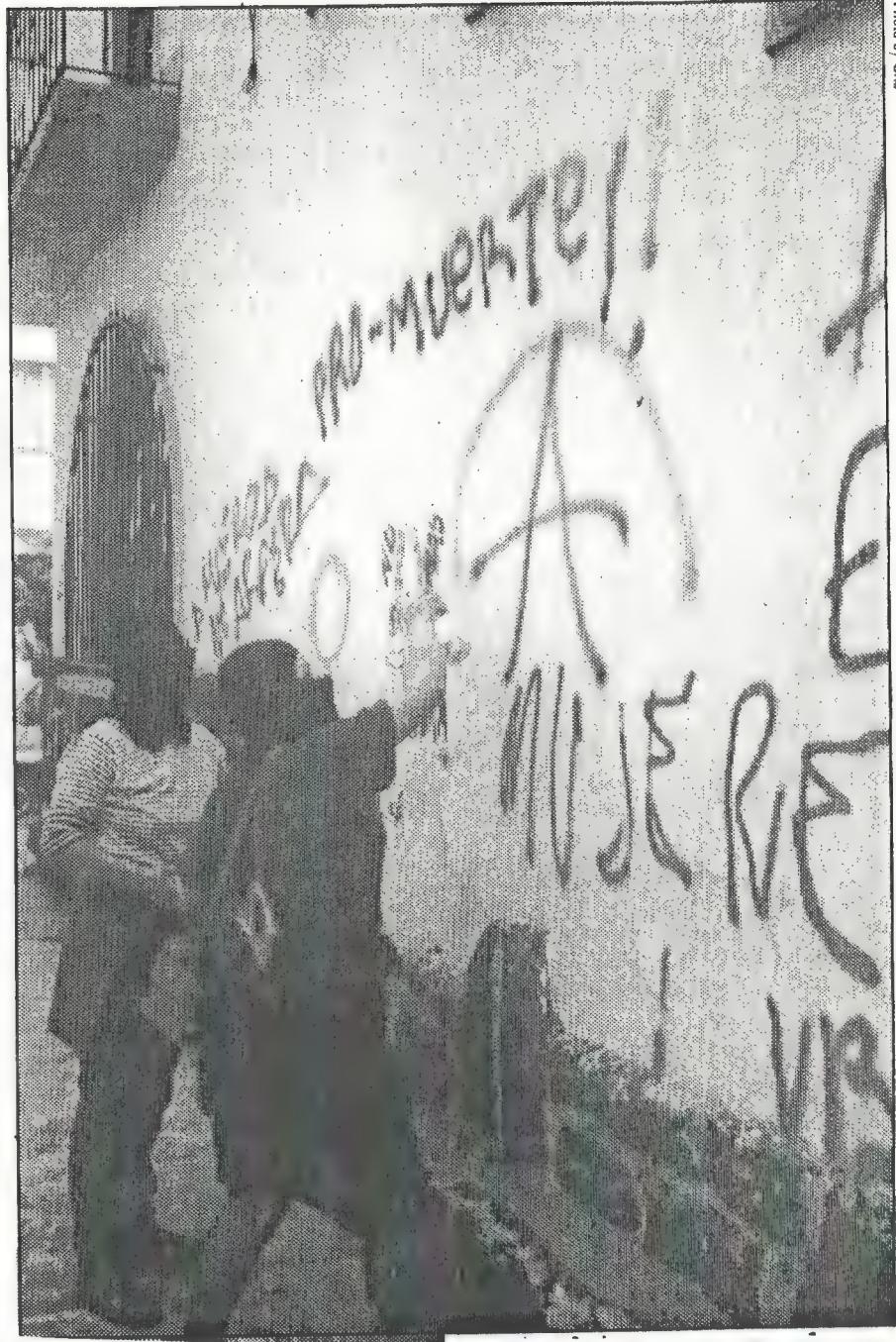
Over 100,000 women gathered on April 9 in Washington, DC for a Rally For Women's Lives sponsored by the National Organization for Women (NOW). Women spoke out against spousal abuse, queer-bashing, and the government's contract against women. Speakers included relatives of the women assassinated in Boston, Mass.

Across the Capitol Mall tens of thousands of t-shirts hanging from clotheslines said more than any speaker could. The

Clothesline Project starkly portrayed the violence of America in our homes, in our classrooms, our workplaces; the brutality of patriarchy was writ large for all to see. Each shirt demanded we remember a woman or child who had been abused or killed.

Walking among the women that day, there was a restlessness in the air. Something more than the rally could hold. You could hear it in the defiance in people's voices. This anger and desire for something more, not another rally, is going to move us toward a free society.★

**On March 8,
International Women's Day, Love
and Rage trashed the anti-choice
organization Pro-Vida's head-
quarters in Mexico City.
Anti-choice bigots beware!
Reproductive freedom
for all women!**



New York Budget Cuts Spark Militant Mass Movement

BY CHRISTOPHER DAY

On February 27, 8,000 students, mainly from the State University of New York (SUNY) and the City University of New York (CUNY), attended a rally organized by the New York Public Interest Research Group (NYPIRG) at the New York state capitol in Albany against dramatic proposed cuts in the state budget for higher education. The NYPIRG rally was organized to coincide with a day of student lobbying of state legislators. But many of the students gathered in Albany were in no mood to beg politicians for what they consider a basic right. Growing impatient with an endless array of speakers emphasizing the importance of registering to vote and writing to our legislators, groups of students organized an impromptu march that managed to capture the whole crowd. After marching up and down a long mall the students started to march past the state capitol building which was guarded by no more than a dozen cops on horseback. Students waving the flag of the Dominican Republic were the first up the stairs of the capitol building. For a moment the crowd hesitated and then proceeded up the stairs to the doors of the capitol. The NYPIRG organizers panicked and pleaded with the crowd to return to the rally site. It was too late. Several hundred students poured into the lobby of the capitol building chanting, among other things, "Revolution! Revolution!" before the NYPIRG organizers, working with the cops, managed to secure the doors and prevent the rest of the students from getting in. The rest of the crowd

then marched several blocks to the administrative headquarters of SUNY where the police were better prepared. After several unsuccessful attempts the crowd managed to push through the police and get into the SUNY building, where they remained for about twenty minutes. The demonstration obtained only local Albany coverage in the capitalist media.

While the students were not prepared to transform these spontaneous actions into effective occupations, their insurgent spirit was an indicator that the movement against the budget cuts was going to be militant. This pattern was to repeat itself several times, with the rank and file of the student movement breaking through the boundaries established by their self-appointed leaders.

OPENING MOVES

Several days later on March 1, 20,000 hospital workers organized by 1199 (eleven-ninety-nine), the hospital workers union, marched from the Empire State Building to Bellevue Hospital in opposition to proposed cuts in Medicaid and hospital funding. Over the next several weeks the movement began to turn up the heat. When recently-elected Governor George Pataki came to speak in a New York City hotel his path was blocked by AIDS activists and students. On March 15, speak-outs were organized by faculty at many CUNY schools. At Hunter, a CUNY college, a speak-out turned into a confrontation with the police after theater

(Continued to page 4)



A scene from March 23.

students in a mock funeral procession were followed by about 100 students into the street where they were attacked without warning by the police. Eight students were brutally arrested. On March 16, about 3,000 students organized by the CUNY University Student Senate (USS) marched from the Borough of Manhattan Community College (BMCC) to the World Trade Center.

STUDENT STRIKE ROCKS NEW YORK

On March 23, 30,000 students turned out for a demonstration organized by the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts with the explicit aim to "Shut the City Down." Only about 20,000 were able to get to the rally area around City Hall. The rest were prevented from getting to the rally by the police and clogged the streets surrounding the rally. The crowd included thousands of the 14,000 High School students who walked out of classes that day. When the students at City Hall attempted to get through the police barricades and into the street in order to march on Wall Street they were met with horses, mace and billy-clubs. Seventy-five students were arrested and many more were maced or otherwise injured. Reporters and photographers were also caught up in the police riot. Eventually the repeated attacks by the police broke down the determination of the crowd, which gradually dispersed. Several thousand students regrouped at BMCC nearby and several hundred organized a march to 1 Police Plaza, police headquarters, where the people arrested earlier were being held. Later that evening Police Commissioner Bratton attempted to speak at a previously scheduled event at Hunter College. Students disrupted the event by shouting Bratton down with accusations about police brutality at the demonstration. After one of the students was thrown out of the room a crowd of students gathered outside and chanted loudly throughout the event. As Bratton left he was pursued by an angry crowd of students chanting "Cops Off Campus! Run Bratton Run!"

The news blackout on the movement against the budget cuts was finally broken. The March 23 demonstration got front page coverage in every English and Spanish language daily in New York in addition to extensive national and international coverage.

LIBERAL HUCKSTERS STIR

The March 23 demonstration seriously shook the power structure by announcing the existence of an autonomous working-class student movement outside the control of any of the traditional "progressive" forces of New York City politics. The CUNY Coalition refused to let any politicians speak from the stage. Ruth Messinger, the liberal Democratic Manhattan Borough President, was told to get off the stage. The response to the March 23 demonstration was immediate. The "left-wing" of the Democratic Party, in the form of the Rev. Al Sharpton and 1199 President (and vice-president of the New York State Democratic Party) Denis Rivera, called for a march from City Hall to Wall Street on April 4.

The April 4 demonstration had many lessons to offer the new student movement. Rivera and Sharpton promised the CUNY Coalition that they would be "equal partners" in organizing the demonstration. They were everything but. About 5,000 people, mainly students, turned out for the demonstration. 1199 did not mobilize its own membership in anything like the significant numbers they turned out for March 1. 1199 overrode the CUNY Coalition on several important issues from who would get to speak to how the marshals would respond to police provocations. At one point after several students had made uncompromisingly radical speeches, Denis Rivera took the microphone and threatened not to participate in the march if there were any more "provocative speeches." The crowd, including many 1199 members, booed Rivera. Al Sharpton had to intercede to save his and Rivera's political fortunes. In an expert piece of demagoguery, Sharpton played the firebrand, riling the crowd up with chants of "No Justice, No Peace," and then turned around and announced that any "provocateurs" would be "handed over to the police." Those who were familiar with Sharpton's past as an FBI informant didn't

doubt his willingness to collaborate with the cops.

April 4 cost the movement some momentum but it also taught some important lessons about alliances with "progressive" Democrats. After April 4 the momentum returned to the individual campuses. At SUNY Binghamton, Governor Pataki's car was stoned by students as he attempted to visit his daughter who was participating in an event on campus. On April 11 about 20 students at the City College of New York (CCNY) in Harlem initiated a hunger strike in a 24-hour access building on campus. That night CCNY president Yolanda Moses called in the police to arrest the hunger strikers and their supporters when they refused to vacate the building at 11 p.m. In 1969 CCNY was the site of an occupation that led to open admissions at CUNY. Since then there has been a tradition of not bringing the cops on campus. Moses' decision to use mass arrests against a hunger strike outraged not only other CUNY students but also community activists in Harlem and Washington Heights. Only minor charges were brought against the 47 arrestees, but they were held in police custody overnight and the hunger strikers were denied any fluids in a blatant effort to break their resolve. The next morning the hunger strikers returned to CCNY, and by early evening they had been joined by several hundred supporters from the community, from other CUNY schools, and from Columbia and other private schools. That evening a decision was made to avoid arrests and to leave the building when ordered to. The crowd then marched in the rain for several hours in a spirited demonstration through Harlem. Answering an offer of sanctuary from Columbia students the crowd attempted to gain access to Columbia but were blocked at the main gate by police. The crowd then rushed a smaller gate and about half the people got in before the cops were able to close the gates and arrest three students. After a brief occupation of the lobby of a library the crowd decided to disperse. The next evening Gov. Pataki ventured into New York City, attempting to speak on Staten Island. He was met by an angry crowd of transit workers, school bus dri-

vers threatening to strike, and students who successfully shouted him down.

BUDGET OF THE DAMNED

There are budget cuts and there are budget cuts. The state budget proposed by Gov. Pataki includes cuts so devastating in their impact that they could do nothing but spark massive resistance. The cuts include dramatic reductions in the budgets for AIDS, chemical dependency and other health programs, Medicaid and other forms of medical assistance, and particularly sharp cuts in higher education. The effects of the cuts on CUNY give a sense of the general character of this budget. Pataki's proposed budget calls for a 25%, or \$162 million, cut in funding for CUNY. To absorb these cuts he has proposed a \$1000 tuition increase. At the same time he is slashing financial aid. The effects of the cuts are already being felt. Staff and adjuncts have already been laid off at some schools, library hours have been reduced and early registration has been canceled. It is estimated that by the Fall 10% of CUNY students will be unable to return to school and 20% of classes will be cut as a result of this budget.

CUNY has traditionally been the escape from lives of poverty and misery for hundreds of thousands of poor and working-class New Yorkers. Until 1969, when open admissions was won CUNY was almost all white and tuition was free. By 1976 CUNY was predominantly Black, Latino and Asian, and for the first time tuition fees were charged. Since then there has been an almost unrelenting attack on CUNY. Each budget proposal is accompanied by a vicious campaign to demonize CUNY students as undeserving of higher education. Pataki's budget proposal is in effect an effort to destroy CUNY as a serious university offering a broad liberal education to working-class youth.

One of the astounding things about Pataki's budget, however, is that it is visiting similar cuts on the more white and middle class upstate SUNY schools. Because of inequalities in how CUNY and SUNY are funded, and because of the relatively more privileged position of SUNY students, SUNY will be able to absorb the cuts more easily than CUNY. But the cuts

directed at SUNY and at Medicaid have created a broad working- and middle-class alliance against the cuts that has put the cuts in serious jeopardy and Pataki on the political defensive.

...OR DOES IT EXPLODE

For the majority of CUNY students, going to college is an enormous struggle. Few CUNY students can count on significant financial support from their parents. The vast majority of CUNY students hold down at least one job. Many have children or other family members to take care of. Many are the first in their families to ever attend college. For these students, for their families, and for their communities, a CUNY education represents their deepest hopes and aspirations. The proposed budget cuts are a direct assault on these dreams and aspirations. For every one of the 200,000 students in CUNY there are at least ten more people watching to see what will happen. Every CUNY student forced out of school by these budget cuts represents younger sisters and brothers or friends on the block who will give up hope and numb their despair with drugs. The budget cuts are quite simply a matter of life and death for the communities affected.

THE NEW WORLD ORDER COMES HOME

One of the main battles within the anti-budget cut movement has been over where the budget cuts are coming from. Liberal groups ranging from NYPPIRG to 1199 have emphasized the mean-spiritedness of the cuts and have focused their attacks on the Republican politicians in Albany. Over and over one hears from these quarters the refrain that the politicians don't know what the cuts will do to the people who will be affected by them and that the purpose of the movement is to let them know. In contrast to this, the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts took a somewhat more explicitly anti-capitalist position that the cuts are part of the general process of capitalist restructuring taking place around the world and that the real power behind the budget cuts is on Wall Street, not in Albany. But even in the CUNY Coalition there is a lack of clarity.



March 23

Frequently, activists argue that the budget cuts in higher education will be bad for New York's economy because CUNY produces so many people who are trained to work in high-paying skilled professions, as if the ruling class has just made a big blunder in calculating the effects of the budget. In fact the budget cuts are perfectly rational from the point

of view of the rich. In the new global economy the high-paying jobs that supported the US's large middle class are being greatly reduced. At a time when the pool of high-paying jobs traditionally reserved for the white middle-class is shrinking, CUNY is producing thousands of Black, Latino and Asian competitors for those jobs. This undermines the ability of

the system to maintain a stable base of support in the white middle class. It is also producing raised expectations among an enormous layer of well-educated people of color that the system cannot deliver on. From the point of view of the rich, CUNY costs a lot of money and is

contributing vital materials to future social explosions. The budget cuts are, in effect, long-term riot control.

WE DON'T NEED NO STINKING PERMITS

The anti-budget cut movement is a very broad one and there are enormous contradictions between the various forces it has brought together. Perhaps the sharpest contradiction has arisen between the "left-wing" of the Democratic Party as represented by 1199 and the more autonomous CUNY Coalition. While 1199 has a membership of tens of thousands of working class people who will be directly affected by the cuts, the leadership of the union is in the hands of people who will be affected in a very different way, the cuts will undermine their claim to institutionalized power. By contrast, the CUNY Coalition, in spite of many failings, is honestly led by students who are not directly concerned with future political careers. The March 23 demonstration was more than an attack on the budget cuts. It was a challenge to the ability of the Democrats to keep opposition to the budget cuts within the bounds of protest-as-usual. The Democrats and the rest of institutionalized progressivism (the unions, churches, etc.) are in deep trouble. They have lost much of their traditional support among white workers to the right. Their one remaining claim to viability is their ability to rein in the unruly elements of the more despised sections of society. It is clear that on the whole the system is choosing to rely more heavily on repression (cops and prisons) than on the strategy of co-optation represented by the progressive Democrats. Demonstrations like the one on March 23 only reinforce the idea that the ungainly bureaucracies of institutionalized progres-

sivism are as ineffective and irrelevant as they are expensive.

The hastily organized April 4 demonstration was nothing more than a cynical attempt by politicians and bureaucrats to get out in front of a mass movement and then bring it back under control. The failure of the March 23 demonstration was our failure to break through police lines and march on Wall Street. The CUNY Coalition had deliberately decided not to get a permit for such a march in order to avoid working with the police in blunting the power of our own demonstration. Denis Rivera and Al Sharpton sought to capitalize on this failure by organizing a permitted march from City Hall to Wall Street. They succeeded in moving 5,000 people from point A to point B, but in so doing they sacrificed what made March 23 powerful even in its failure, the willingness of 30,000 people to show up to a demonstration with the explicit intention of shutting the city down to defeat the cuts.

THE CUNY COALITION

The CUNY Coalition was formally initiated at the start of the Spring semester by the president of student government at Bronx Community College, but most of the work to build the coalition appeared to be carried out by the International Socialist Organization (ISO), a Trotskyist group, working with the student government at the CUNY Graduate Center. While the ISO has large chapters at a number of private colleges in New York, the only CUNY campus where they have a significant presence is the CUNY Graduate Center. Initially, CUNY Coalition meetings were supposed to rotate from school to school, but because of the superior facilities offered by the Graduate Center the meetings became fixed there.

Both the ISO and the Graduate Center are considerably whiter in composition than the rest of CUNY. CUNY Coalition meetings have a majority of white students while the movements on the various campuses are overwhelmingly made up of people of color. In addition to the ISO and the Graduate Center a

number of other tiny Trotskyist groups representing almost no significant base on the campuses decided to make CUNY Coalition meetings a forum for airing their various party lines at great length. The net effect of all this was an atmosphere of distrust and poor communications between the largely white leadership of the Coalition and its largely Black, Latino and Asian bases on the campuses. This played itself out on March 23.

March 23 was the largest demonstration by youth of color in New York history. While the call for the demonstration emphasized our intention to shut the city down, the Trotskyists inflicted an interminable program of speakers, including every vaguely progressive union bureaucrat any of them had ever met, on a crowd eager to get into the streets. Security for the demonstration was organized independently by each school with a coordinating apparatus that never actually worked with the consequence that there was no effective stage security and everybody with a buddy over 175 pounds could get on the stage and demand a turn on the microphone and many did. After almost two hours of music, speeches and visible chaos on stage, the announcement was made that we were going to march to Wall Street. The problem, of course, was that there were several thousand cops gathered and ready to stop us. The bigger problem was that there wasn't the coordination within the crowd to break through the police lines. While some of the failure of coordination can be blamed on technical problems, the real failure was political. The lines of trust and communication between campuses had not been built up to the point that they could overcome the predictable technical and logistical screw-ups.

In spite of these weaknesses March 23 also demonstrated the incredible power represented by the CUNY Coalition in the fighting spirit displayed by thousands of students over the course of the demonstration. March 23 announced the existence of thousands of students, primarily students of color, who are prepared to do whatever it takes to defeat the budget cuts. If the CUNY Coalition failed to turn this potentiality into

an effective action to actually shut down the financial center of the world, it must be credited with making that potentiality clear to the students of CUNY and to the world.

THE BIRTH OF A MOVEMENT

For the past several years we have witnessed the almost complete disintegration of any sort of radical oppositional politics in the US. The movement against the budget cuts in New York is a significant reversal of this trend. Also, events like the Los Angeles rebellion have demonstrated the existence of broad and deep contempt for the existing order and a willingness to take to the streets to challenge it. While it is still in its earliest and most vulnerable stages, we are right now witnessing the birth of a new movement. The anti-budget-cut movement is not a tired re-run of all the failed last stands of the old left of the '80s. It has successfully mobilized thousands of people who have never participated in any sort of politics before and their vitality is palpable. This spirit was expressed clearly the day after March 23 when students at Hunter College gathered to sum up the demonstration and to talk about where they wanted to go. While the room was filled with pacifists, militants, democratic socialists, anarchists, communists, nationalists, Christians, Muslims, and independent radicals, there was a profound feeling of unity. When it was suggested that everybody take a minute to say what it was that they stood for and wanted the group to stand for that unity was made clear. Although our commitment to defeating the cuts and defending CUNY had brought us together not one person mentioned either. All but two people spoke specifically of revolution. One Palestinian student said simply "I believe in love" and was met with loud applause. The right has overplayed its hand. Pataki's budget has given birth to a movement that will not be going away soon. He has compelled us to speak openly about our desire for a new society and the love of the people that motivates it. Nothing is more dangerous to the powers that be.★

Kieran Knutson Wins Trial!



Kieran Knutson and his lawyer Keith Ellison leaving court victorious

BY JOEL / ANTI-FASCIST DEFENSE COMMITTEE
A jury found Kieran Frazier Knutson not guilty of 2nd and 3rd degree assault on Sunday, January 28, 1996. After a two-year struggle and a two-week trial, this is a clear victory for anti-racist forces in the Twin Cities.

As the not guilty verdicts were read, the packed courtroom filled with cheers and tears. Several media sources covered the event, and Kieran (finally able to comment on his own case after two years) told them, "The state put me on trial for fighting racism and nazism, and a jury decided that it's not a crime." Later, at the victory party that night, Kieran told a crowd of comrades, "October 22, 1993 was a good night. Tonight is a good night, too. We won both times."

Kieran was charged with assault at an October 22, 1993 anti-racist rally at the University of Minnesota. Prosecutors maintained that Kieran attacked Daniel Simmer (a neo-nazi skinhead) unprovoked, hitting him 2-3 times in the head with a maglite flashlight. Kieran never denied hitting Simmer, but he argued it was in self-defense, as Simmer pulled out something shiny from his pockets and made a move at Kieran. Kieran thought it was a knife, so he hit Simmer; the shiny object turned out to be a pair of brass knuckles. Kieran also argued that he only hit Simmer once.

In her closing arguments, prosecutor Gemma Graham argued that there were really two trials being argued in court, one against Kieran Knutson and the other against nazis. Her whole case was based on two things: 1) the (weak) testimony of a student newspaper reporter, and 2) relentlessly bashing defense witnesses and Kieran. Graham argued throughout the trial that all the witnesses, Kieran, the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee, and the legal investigator for Kieran were all involved in an elaborate conspiracy to protect Kieran and to "advance an agenda." She claimed that witnesses invented their testimony (she called several witnesses "flat-out liars" in her closing statements) and that they were coached by defense investigators and the AFDC. She repeatedly tried to discredit the defense witnesses for their political affiliations and political beliefs. At one point she sneered, "These people believe in FIGHTING racism and FIGHTING nazis!" as if that's something to be ashamed of.

Keith Ellison, Kieran's lawyer, argued that there were indeed two trials going on, but they were 1) the trial against Kieran and 2) a conspiracy trial against activists

from the Progressive Student Organization, Anti-Racist Action, and others. He demonstrated that the prosecution's whole case was based on discrediting witnesses and Kieran for their political beliefs, and that such an accusation is ridiculous. He also hammered home again and again the fact that three witnesses saw the nazi pull out brass knuckles on Kieran before Kieran whopped him, and that the witnesses' anti-racist politics can't change that fact.

Ultimately, the jury believed us, and Kieran was acquitted. However, as with everything about this case, getting an acquittal wasn't easy. The jury reported to the judge that they were hopelessly hung on Saturday afternoon (by a vote of 9-3 in favor of acquittal; we later found out), but the judge sent them back to deliberate more. After another day of deliberation, two people switched their votes, and then finally the last person did. In all, the jury was sequestered for 50+ hours and deliberated for more than 20.

Kieran and the Anti-Fascist Defense Committee (the organization that supported Kieran politically for the past two years) would like to send our deep and sincere thanks to everyone who has supported us and helped us throughout all eleven false trial dates and the actual trial itself. All your phone calls, faxes, and letters to the prosecution really helped keep the pressure on. Also, your letters of support to Kieran kept our morale up, especially in the last year or so when it looked like the trial would never happen. Also, the financial support was outstanding; we were able to afford everything we needed. Minneapolis supporters did all these things and more: they attended the numerous demonstrations and flierings and forums we held, and they packed the courtroom for every day of the two-week trial (plus a week of jury selection!). Being with these people in court every day is one of my proudest political moments.

We will be writing a political analysis of the trial soon; let us know if you'd like a copy. Again, thanks to all and solidarity to those who are going through similar struggles. Kieran's case proves it: we can win.

Even the state has to acknowledge it now: Fighting racism is not a crime!★

For more information contact:
Anti-Fascist Defense Committee
PO Box 7075
Minneapolis, MN 55407
jolson@polisci.umn.edu

ARA Network Confronts Klan in Columbus

BY GIGI

Our first national action as the Anti-Racist Action Network was to gather in Columbus on Jan. 6, 1996 to fight the Klan's annual anti-Martin Luther King Day event. Upon arrival at the Ohio State Capitol, we saw streets lined with riot police, vans filled with police horses, and hundreds of feet of metal fencing (the "pens") erected to corral antiracist protesters. By 2 pm, the scheduled time of the racist event, 400 ARA Network members and community activists had gathered. A small group of people saw the Klan cars arriving with their police escorts and made an attempt to mobilize the crowd. The crowd did move toward the street where the cars had been spotted, but the majority didn't arrive until the nazis were safely into the Statehouse. The few who had a chance to hurl insults at the nazis were pleased as they saw one carful smack into the car in front of them.

Minneapolis ARA had, in our strategy, proposed the idea of turning the streets outside of the pens into our own antiracist rally. Most of our time on that side of the Statehouse was spent chanting and flying against going into the pens. Directly outside of the entrance to the pen, ARA Network activists handed out flyers asking people not to go in, but NWROC [National Women's Rights Organizing Committee—a front group for the Revolutionary Workers League] supporters and others just wishing to get a better look went in through the

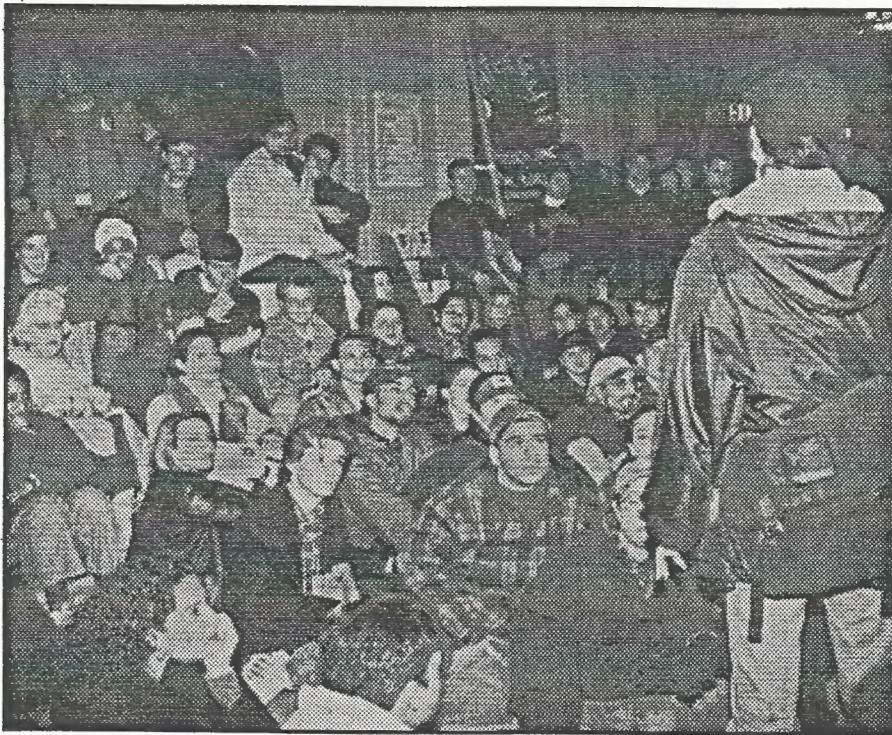
metal detectors and were pat-searched by cops in riot gear. Inside the pen, the view of the Klan was still poor. An allegedly racist skinhead was attacked inside the pen and had to be taken out by ambulance. His politics are still a question of debate, while news footage is being used to identify and charge the antiracists involved. Notably, no other racists showed up to hear the Klan speak.

Once the racists went back into their safe haven of the Statehouse, people moved to the other side of the square in anticipation of the Klan's departure. NWROC called for people to "take the street," and when people did move into the street, blocking traffic, riot police surrounded the crowd and pushed people to either side, while NWROC supporters were nowhere to be seen. On one side, protesters were charged by police on horseback, and one activist, beaten by police for throwing a snowball at a horse, was charged with "resisting arrest." A small group of Minneapolis activists saw the nazi cars leaving through an entrance, and tried to get the crowd to mobilize. Unfortunately, the rest of the crowd was occupied by the riot police and their horses.

After the disappointing attempt to get at the Klan on the streets of Columbus, many of the protesters went to a local community center to discuss the day's work and to have a business meeting of the ARA Network. Tensions between ARA Network activists and disruptive elements served to make the meeting relatively unproductive.★



Anti-Racist Action Network mobilizes against the Klan in Columbus, Ohio on Jan. 6



One of the Ethnic Studies hunger strikers addresses students during massive sit-in at Columbia's Butler Library.

Student Takeovers at Columbia University for Ethnic Studies

BY MATTHEW QUEST

Columbia University students, demanding the creation of an ethnic studies program, conducted a two-week battle with their campus administration and security. A 15-day hunger strike, three building takeovers, and two marches highlighted the struggle. More than 23 students were arrested at the height of the rebellion as riot police stormed campus for the first time since the 1970s.

More than 150 students occupied Low Library, the main administrative building, after a 4 p.m. rally on April 10. Students occupied the building all night and barred all employees, who were left standing for hours outside on the next bitter cold morning. Finally, campus security cleared the building with forced arrests. Students stopped traffic while surrounding police vehicles outside the campus gates, finally

marching on the local precinct.

On April 12, while 100 students occupied Hamilton Hall for most of the day, students chalked in the names of activists Marcus Garvey, Bobby Seale, Steven Biko, and Cesar Chavez, among others. Across from Hamilton Hall is the campus main library, whose facade is engraved with the names of Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, and Plato—authors taught in Columbia's Western core curriculum.

Student leaders, prominent among them Asian, African, and Latina women, won concessions from the Columbia administration which included amnesty for the protesters, four new minority faculty members (two Asian and two Latino), and a promise to hire more faculty for the African American studies department. However their key demand, a separate ethnic studies center or separate academic department, was not met. The struggle continues.★

Fighting for Education

Ups & Downs of CUNY Student Movement 95-96

BY CAROLYN & BRAD

Who's got the money? The rich got the money. Who must pay? The rich must pay," over a thousand City University of New York (CUNY) students vowed as they marched past Wall Street, the heart of New York's financial district on a sunny May afternoon. The demands of the day were simple: Stop trying to destroy our only chances at an education—don't destroy CUNY. Students raged at the faceless buildings, "They want prisons, we want schools!" And on that day the students had moments when they spoke in a direct voice, straight up and live.

Organized by the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM!), in coalition with the United Student Senate (USS) and the Professional Staff Congress (PSC—the faculty union), the May 8, 1996 demonstration against the budget cuts was the culmination of a semester of organizing on college campuses across all the New York boroughs from the Bronx to Brooklyn. While the student movement didn't successfully stop this round of budget cuts, important

lessons can be learned that we will need to understand in order to carry the struggle to the next level.

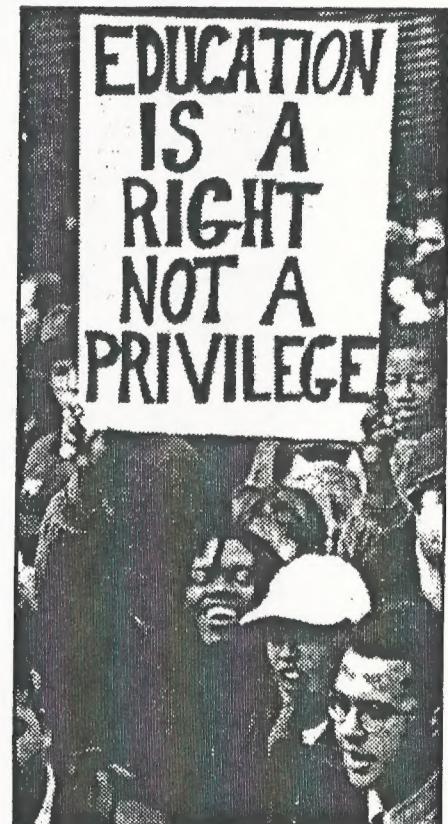
THE CUNY SYSTEM THEN & NOW

CUNY began as a free school for the working class and poor in 1847 with one campus, City College in Harlem. Now it is a network of junior and senior colleges throughout New York City's five boroughs. Tuition was free from 1847 until 1976, when a citywide financial crisis caused the university to impose a fee of \$925 a year. The next tuition increase was in 1982, raising the cost to \$1,075. Tuition has been raised regularly ever since. Current estimates are tuition will be \$3,400 this Fall. The tuition increases from the '70s to the '90s have been part of an effort to downsize and dismantle CUNY.

CUNY currently has 220,000 full-time and part-time students. At least 60% of the students are people of color, and 60% are women. The CUNY system is the only educational opportunity for the most oppressed

people in New York. The state legislature passed cuts in 1995 which have resulted in a \$750 tuition increase, and a 90% Tuition Assistance Program (TAP) cap that lowered aid to the neediest students. TAP will be cut statewide by \$98 million and will no longer be linked to tuition levels. Another \$250-\$750 increase per student is being proposed, which would end all possibilities of a higher education for many CUNY students.

CUNY Chancellor W. Ann Reynolds conservatively estimates that 20,000 CUNY students will not be able to return in Fall 1996 due to financial hardship. This is the equivalent of completely emptying one whole CUNY campus. And it's impossible to calculate the effects these cuts will have on the quality of the education for those who can afford to stay in school. The cuts include \$5 million in bilingual education grants, \$7 million in adult literacy programs, and axing pre-kindergarten, special education, summer handicapped programs, and schools for the deaf and blind. To add



CUNY Students March on Broadway Ave Mar. 21

insult to injury, after these cuts were passed, Governor Pataki unilaterally imposed another 12% cut to the approved CUNY budget without legislative approval.

THE SCHOOLS SHOULD SERVE THE PEOPLE!

SLAM! has one basic criterion for judging our actions: Do they empower students? CUNY Students have no real power within the university over our education. This is because the university system is a part of the larger society that is set up to deny poor and oppressed people power over our lives. In the context of CUNY the demand for student power is a challenge to the power of New York's ruling elite over its most oppressed communities.

The struggle against the budget cuts and for student power cannot happen without the same process happening in our neighborhoods, our workplaces, and even our personal lives. Historically the student movement has played a role in catalyzing such liberation movements in other sections of society. Understood in this way student power doesn't mean directly taking over the university this year or next, but developing the political self-reliance and activity of students, developing a new generation of

organizers and creating lasting spaces of counter-power that can nurture a broader revolutionary movement.

THE MOVEMENT LAST YEAR

In spring 1995 student organizing against the CUNY budget cuts exploded into a truly mass movement. A new organization, the CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts, brought together the movements on the various CUNY campuses into large citywide demonstrations.

The largest march was on March 23, 1995, where over 20,000 students mobilized at City Hall. The fliers for the march called for "Student Strike Against the Cuts: Shut the City Down!" The Coalition did not get a march permit, and didn't allow any politicians to speak.

The plan was to march to Wall Street, to disrupt those that are determining CUNY's fate. But 8,000 cops blocked the marchers and in the chaos of the situation, cops maced and beat some students. The march was penned in by the cops, never leaving City Hall. But there was no mistaking that a new autonomous student movement had emerged. Before March 23, CUNY Coalition meetings attracted a few dozen people.

After March 23, hundreds of people regularly came to the meetings. Something new was in the air.

But while this upsurge in student participation was going on, confusion and disagreement among the core organizers started to tear apart the coalition. Different people were blamed for the tactical blunders of March 23. Despite the ability to mobilize tens of thousands of students against the cuts, organizers didn't have a clear conception of what needed to be done to actually stop the cuts from going through. The CUNY Coalition dissipated toward the end of the spring 1995 semester, unsuccessful in its mission to stop the budget cuts.

'96: PICKING UP THE PIECES

In Fall 1996 disunity continued among the core organizers. And more importantly, a change in attitude was coming over the student body as a whole. This change was vaguely sensed but not fully comprehended by most of the former coalition organizers through the Fall semester. Efforts began to rebuild a citywide coalition along the lines of last spring's CUNY Coalition.

Before the start of the spring semester a new coalition was quickly formed and named the Coalition for Public Education (CPE). It initially consisted of many inde-



CUNY Students Take the Struggle into the Streets on March 23

pendent radical students, as well as members of an alphabet soup of revolutionary organizations. Some groups participated in a principled way, doing work to build the movement on the campuses. Others' participation can only be called disruptive, while some others came around when they thought things were 'hot' but then disappeared just as quickly when it came time to actually do protracted, unglamorous work.

The CPE coalition meetings adopted a delegate structure, where each campus group was required to have open, democratic meetings and elect delegates to represent their positions in the citywide meetings. During the early meetings, the International Socialist Organization (ISO) removed themselves from the coalition to focus their energies on their new anti-death penalty campaign. This clearly hurt the organizational abilities of the coalition as the ISO did much work last spring. Some other Leninist groups left, due to their disagreement with the delegate structure adopted. They opposed this structure because it

reduced their ability to take leadership over the movement without doing actual work on the campuses to build student power. Rather than do the work, they hit the door.

While all this was going on, the coalition was also developing an action plan for the spring semester. A radical and exciting action plan was agreed on with total consensus. The plan was for a series of four actions: (1) a joint demonstration with striking service workers, (2) a mass march like the one last spring on March 21, (3) a civil disobedience action, and (4) a Mayday march on Wall Street.

With a rebuilt coalition, a democratic structure and many activists committed to building the movement on the campuses, expectations grew that the movement could be even larger and more radical than last spring. Organizers believed that with the Governor's announcement of the new round of budget cuts, the mass movement would quickly rebound on the campuses. While this analysis was understandable considering the explosion of the movement last spring, as events unfolded it proved to be incorrect.

STUDENTS ON THE MOVE

SLAM's initial plan was based on this vision of broadening student participation.

But no mass movement emerged at CUNY this spring. There was certainly activism and mobilization against the budget cuts, and a respectable core of organizers did a large amount of work. What was missing was the response from the rest of the student body, which contrasted sharply with the climate on campus just a year earlier. Last year when the citywide demonstration was called, it became the buzz on the campuses—students and faculty were all talking about it and took it up as their own. This year organizers put up thousands of fliers and did lots of outreach, but on the whole students walked by without paying much attention.

WHAT HAPPENED?

The student indifference to the movement this year can only be explained as a reaction to the failure of the movement last spring. The fact that the cuts went through had two effects. The most obvious is that many students weren't able to stay in school because they couldn't afford it or their programs had been cut. The second effect is the demoralization. It was this that organizers underestimated.

Students did everything from traveling to Albany to lobby and protest the state government, to working tirelessly on campus all year, to mobilizing tens of thousands of people at a citywide demonstration and getting attacked by the cops. But the budget cuts still went through. Students accurately realized that if we weren't able to stop the cuts last year, there was no reason to think we could do it this year with the same tactics.

The citywide demonstration this year on March 21 drew 2,000 high school and college students—only a shadow of the march last spring. Originally SLAM hoped March 21 would be a joint demonstration with USS and PSC. The coalition proved unworkable, as the PSC was unwilling to unite with students unless we gave them blanket approval to invite Democratic Party politicians to speak at the rally and make voting a central focus of the action.

The small size of the March 21 demo and the lack of the movement's growth afterwards led to general disillusionment. Many SLAM! activists started to believe that the movement would grow if we were willing to compromise with PSC. Desperately wanting the movement to grow, SLAM! decided

to compromise with PSC on two major questions in order to gain their endorsement. The compromises were (1) to allow Democratic party politicians to speak, and (2) to do the march a week later, almost at the end of the semester. These compromises were made in hopes that more students would come to the march if faculty supported it and didn't hold tests on that date.

But even with the endorsement of the faculty union, the May 8 march was even smaller than the March 23 demo, which SLAM! had organized on its own terms. This fact shows that the low activity of the movement was not due to SLAM's unwillingness to compromise with liberals. Even with the endorsement of liberals, students didn't get involved. The low level of mass movement came more from demoralization due to the ineffectiveness of past movement efforts.

TOWARD STUDENT POWER

We need to build a student movement that can seriously attempt to stop the budget cuts next year. To figure out how to do that, we need to study the history of the student movement, and movements for social change generally, to see what had worked and what hasn't worked historically. We need to build a mass movement. It needs to be autonomous, meaning that it can't rely on Democratic politicians or on faculty endorsements to mobilize the student body.

One lesson we take from spring '96 is that when the movement is in a low period, there is no short cut that will jump-start the movement other than ongoing, patient political organizing. Alliances with liberals won't do it, nor will flashy militant tactics that don't involve thousands of students. We need to be aware of where students are at, and plan our strategies based on that.

The most positive accomplishment of this semester was the creation of SLAM!—a CUNY-wide radical student organization based on democratic campus groups. This didn't spark a mass movement right away, but it will be crucial when the movement starts to pick up again. This will ensure that the movement can grow quickly, and stay in the hands of students themselves, not Democratic Party politicians, manipulative Leftist groupings, or liberal faculty.★

For more information on the CUNY movement:

Student Liberation Action
Movement (SLAM!)
212-642-2549

The Spheric
Student Community News Service
695 Park Avenue
Room 207 T.H.
New York, NY 10021
212-772-4279

The Spheric is an excellent CUNY-wide independent student movement newspaper.